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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

MORAVIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

Nazareth, Pa.

VOLUME XIII.

PARTS I, II, III, AND IV.

WHITEFIELD HOUSE
NAZARETH, PENNA.
PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY
1944

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Times Publishing Co.,
Bethlehem, Penna.

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ANNUAL MEETING
of the
Moravian Historical Society
October 10, 1940

The business meeting convened in the museum at the Whitefield House, Nazareth, Penna., October 10, 1940, at 11.15 a.m., the President, Dr. W. N. Schwarze, presiding. Eleven members were present.

The minutes of the last annual meeting of the Society had been approved by the Executive Committee, and reading of them was not called for. The minutes of the last meeting of the Executive Committee were read and approved as read.

The Treasurer submitted his annual financial statement. The following is an abstract, viz.:

Cash balance on hand, October 1, 1939	$6,261.50
Receipts	1,072.58
	$7,334.08
Disbursements	1,554.36
Balance on hand, October 1, 1940	$5,779.72

On motion, the report was accepted and ordered filed.

For the Publication Committee, Dr. Schwarze reported that "Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society," Vol. XII, Parts III and IV, would be ready for distribution, by the end of the year.

After some discussion on the matter of investments, it was decided, on motion, to authorize the Executive Committee to make mortgage loans on local real estate, if possible.

The Librarian, the Rev. G. M. Shultz, drew attention to the newly decorated walls of the museum room and the new light fixtures that had been installed. He stated, further, that the copies of the History of Nazareth, recently issued under the

auspices of the Bicentennial Committee of Nazareth, purchased by the Society, had been delivered and distributed among the members of the Society. Over nine hundred persons registered as visitors to the museum during the year, many others failed to register. A total of sixty-four volumes and pamphlets and articles of historical interest have been donated to our library and museum. Other volumes of value have been purchased. Material that had been assembled from the diaries of Nazareth, Gnadenthal, Christian Spring, Friedensthal, and the House of the Single Brethren at Nazareth, for the compilation of the history of Nazareth, has been turned over to our library and has thus enriched available original sources.

It was reported that the approach to the Hebron cemetery, at Lebanon, Penna., recently completed, had been dedicated with appropriate ceremonies arranged by our Society on October 6, 1940, at 3 p.m. The President of the Society, Dr. Schwarze, presided, the Rev. Samuel C. Albright, M.A., a former pastor of the Lebanon congregation, delivered the main address. The Rev. S. H. Gapp, Ph.D., D.D., and the Rev. Merlin Rood, present pastor of the Lebanon congregation, participated in the exercises. A memorial tablet, suitably inscribed, was presented and unveiled by Charles Wolfe, of Lebanon, the main promoter of the project now completed.

The Library Committee, after discussing the matter of proper filing cabinets for our numerous maps and tracings of maps, proposed to the Executive Committee the purchase of the filing cases now installed in the museum. On recommendation of this Committee, it was decided to purchase two copies of the "History of the Lehigh Valley."

The Secretary announced the names of applicants for membership, viz.:

For Life Membership, Mrs. Helena de Schweinitz Couch.

For Active Membership, Mrs. James E. Krause, Mr. Joseph H. Heintzleman, Mrs. Joseph H. Heintzleman, Mrs. Helen A. Kern, Mrs. Charles K. Zug, Mrs. Robert L. Spencer.

For Associate Membership, Mr. Frank A. Banyas, Dr. Ifor Jones, and Mr. Henry K. Funk.

The election of officers for the ensuing year resulted as follows:

President, The Rev. W. N. Schwarze, Ph.D., D.D.

Vice Presidents, The Rev. S. H. Gapp, Ph.D., D.D.; Dean Albert G. Rau, Ph.D., L.H.D., LL.D.; the Rev. E. S. Hagen, D.D.; Professor Herbert H. Beck, Sc.D.; Mr. Archibald Johnston, M.E.; Miss Adelaide L. Fries, Litt.D.; the Rt. Rev. J. Taylor Hamilton, D.D., L.H.D.

Secretary, Mr. William E. Henry.

Librarian, The Rev. G. M. Schultz, A.M.

Treasurer, Mr. James S. Fry.

Publication Committee, The Rev. W. N. Schwarze, Ph.D., D.D.; Professor Albert G. Rau, Ph.D., L.H.D., LL.D.; and Mr. Harry J. Meyers.

Board of Managers, Mr. James S. Fry; Mr. William E. Henry; Mr. John E. Leibfried.

Library Committee, Mr. J. Frederick Knecht, A.M.; the Rev. G. M. Shultz, A.M.; the Rev. Paul S. Meinert, A.M.; Mr. Andrew G. Kern; Mr. George W. Hahn; Professor Samuel C. Zeller, A.M.

Graveyard Committee, Mr. William H. Milchsack; Mr. A. O. Sturgis; Mr. Robert F. Ziegler.

Adjournment.

MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The Executive Committee met immediately after the adjournment of the business session of the Society, elected the nominees of the morning session to the several classifications of membership named, and adjourned.

VESPER MEETING

About one hundred and eighty-five members and guests of the Society assembled for the afternoon session in the social rooms of the Nazareth Moravian Church, at 1.15 p.m. The trombone choir of the Nazareth Moravian Church announced the annual Vesper meeting with several chorale selections. After the Vesper meal, the President announced the names of those members of the Society who had departed to their eternal rest during the

past year, viz., The Rt. Rev. Paul de Schweinitz, D.D., Miss Frances Eggert, and Miss Esther D. Bixler. In their memory the customary memorial hymn was sung, members and guests standing.

The President addressed a few words of greeting and welcome to the assembled members and guests and then introduced Professor Amos A. Ettinger, D.Phil. (Oxon.), Litt.D., F.R.Hist.S., who read a most instructive paper entitled, "Nazareth, an American Theocracy." Under Dr. Ettinger's editorial supervision, the major portion of the bicentennial volume on the history of Nazareth had been written. As the title of his very interesting paper suggested, he interpreted the significance of the community's history in its contributions to American life and American community structure.

After expressing appreciation to Dr. Ettinger for his valuable paper and brief comments thereon, the President introduced Professor Benjamin L. Miller, of Lehigh University, who stressed the fact that Nazareth had been, in its earliest days, a strictly self-supporting community, drawing attention to its use of local stone and water power, the making of brick and pottery, many years prior to the discovery of iron, slate, and cement.

The Secretary read the names of the new members who had joined the Society during the past year and stated that the total membership now consisted of 341 members.

After the singing of an appropriate hymn stanza, the President declared the meeting adjourned.

WM. E. HENRY, *Secretary.*

In Memoriam

THE RT. REV. PAUL DE SCHWEINITZ, D.D.

was born in Salem, North Carolina, March 16, 1863. He died in Bethlehem, Penna., February 8, 1940. Bishop de Schweinitz was deeply and actively interested in the objectives of the Society. For many years he served as a Vice President of the Society and was an active member of the Executive Committee. On occasion, he participated in the program discussions at the annual meetings of the Society and contributed to the printed "Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society." He had an abiding interest in the history of the Moravian Church and its enterprises, particularly in its foreign missions with respect to which he sustained, for many years, administrative responsibility. He joined the Society in 1887.

MISS FRANCES EGGERT

was born in Philadelphia, Penna., April 6, 1861. She died in Montclair, New Jersey, March 4, 1940. She joined the Society in 1900.

MISS ESTHER D. BIXLER

was born in Easton, Penna., August 4, 1880. She died in Easton, Penna., ..., 1940. She joined the Society in 1938.

The Moravian Work at Oley, Berks County, Penna.

By J. Taylor Hamilton

Read at the annual meeting of the Society in 1930

According to tradition the first whites to penetrate the wilderness east of Mount Penn and along the Manatawny Creek were Swedes, who had begun their settlements along the Delaware already in 1636 and who pushed forward from the Delaware and the Schuylkill prior to 1700. But no permanent colonization seems to have been effected in the charming valley, which the Indians named either Olink or Olo, i.e., a kettle or cove, a tract surrounded by hills. Between 1704 and 1712, a few English members of the Society of Friends, like George Boone, ancestor of Daniel Boone, began to filter in. Then other streams of immigration met in the valleys of what is now Berks County, Germans from the Palatinate and also Swiss of German tongue, for the most part of the Lutheran or of the Reformed faith, or Mennonites (for, in 1709, families of the latter persuasion had purchased ten thousand acres along the Pequea Creek and, by 1735, at least five hundred of their families were to be met with in what is now Lancaster County). In the mean time, about 1712, Huguenot families also took up land in the Oley region, de Türks, Bertolets, de Levans, deLongs, who had resided temporarily in the colony of New York and had pressed southwards from Esopus. But together with representatives of the better known divisions of the Protestant faith some adherents of less known divisions also rejoiced in the boon of religious freedom, that had been granted by the Penns, and settled in the region between the present Norristown and Reading. For example, the New Born, as they called themselves, were quite numerous according to the testimony of both Spangenberg and Zinzendorf. The lack of organized congregations and of settled ministers resulted in no little confusion among the Germans of the Colony, estimated by Spangenberg at about 100,000, in 1740.

Apparently the adherents of the Reformed Church in and near Oley had the privilege of an occasional sermon, for Henry Götschi, who came from Zürich to Pennsylvania, in 1728, to be pastor of the congregation organized at Goschenhoppen, in 1717, occasionally itinerated as far as Oley and Tulpehocken. So may also Michael Weiss, pastor of the Reformed church in Philadelphia, which dated from 1726. Whether the Lutheran pastors of New Hannover and of Philadelphia sought out their scattered sheep in this region is not clear.

But as early as 1731 a desire for union as a condition for better provision for the culture of the religious life of the widely scattered German population made itself felt. A leading spirit in connection with this movement was the well-known Henry Antes of Frederick Township. An adherent of the Heidelberg Creed, though a layman, he did zealous evangelistic work as a volunteer, and sometimes conducted public worship. He is recorded to have preached at Oley, in 1736. It was in April, that year, that our Spangenberg arrived and for a time made his home with Christopher Wiegner some two miles south of Kulpsville and eight miles southwest of Hatfield. Here the Moravian evangelist George Boehnisch had been living since the autumn of 1734, aiding Wiegner in the building of his house and the opening up of his farm, whilst occupied in his own primary task of furthering religious life amongst old and young and promoting fellowship amongst those of various creeds. In 1737, when Spangenberg had returned from his visit to the South, Wiegner took him to Oley, where he preached at least twice, in the homes of Jonathan Herbein and Abraham Bertolet respectively. Doubtless, he too contributed to fan the longing for cooperation and union. This found concrete expression in the organization of the Associated Brethren of Skippack. To this belonged at least three men whose names are associated with Oley, namely John Bertolet, William Pott and Adam Schauss. The first of these was a Huguenot from Chateau d'Oex, in Switzerland, who had come to Pennsylvania in 1726. In his house Count Zinzendorf preached soon after the memorable Christmas Eve, when Bethlehem was named. The second had come with the Schwenkfelder, in the autumn of 1734, and gave his name to Pottstown. The third was the Secretary of the Second "Pennsylvania Synod," which met

at Falkner's Swamp at the end of January, 1742. In 1743, he removed to Bethlehem and became the miller there.

During the latter thirties the wide-spread hunger after religious life, known as "The Great Awakening," in Massachussetts identified with the work of Jonathan Edwards of Northampton, and in New Jersey with Jonathan Dickinson and Theodore Freylinghausen, pulsed also through the colony of Pennsylvania in 1740, its movements among the English being identified with the activity of George Whitefield and with that of the Tennants. Whitefield had just arrived from Georgia, bringing with him Peter Boehler and the remnant of the Moravian colony in Savannah. Whitefield and Boehler both preached to large companies of people in the Skippack region. Whitefield's Journal estimates that two thousand persons were present on May 5th and even more a week later, perhaps three thousand—numbers that are confirmed by the surprise which is expressed in the Journal of William Seward, who also mentions the preaching of Peter Boehler, in German. Antes is said to have brought Boehler to Oley also.

In consequence of the welcome given him on his first visit, in 1738, Whitefield had already sent an appeal to Count Zinzendorf, who was in Wetteravia, urging him to send evangelists to the Germans of Pennsylvania, whom he himself was not able to serve. For this same thing Spangenberg had already pleaded, when he reported to Zinzendorf after his prolonged stay in Pennsylvania during the years 1737 to 1739. The twofold appeal now met with a response. For the important task it involved, Andrew Eschenbach was selected and despatched to Pennsylvania. Born in Naumburg, he had been active in Moravian congregations in Wetteravia and in Holland. A man of genuine piety and blameless life, he was endowed with native eloquence and with a dignified personality, so that his lack of theological training was more than offset, when he publicly proclaimed the essential truths of the faith. He arrived at Oley in October, 1740, and lodged at first with Bertolet and then with John Leinbach. From this center he itinerated throughout the region between Skippack and Tulpehocken and Heidelberg, preaching in private houses and in barns as opportunity offered. Great success attended his efforts, especially after he was assisted amongst the women

of the families of the settlers by Sophia Molther, who had come to America in December, 1740, in advance of her husband, a Moravian preacher, and by Anna Nitschmann, the daughter of David Nitschmann, who is often styled "the founder of Bethlehem," the uncle of the Bishop. The whole township of Oley felt a deep interest in religion. Some seventy young men came out publicly with an expression of their desire to live a consistent Christian life. The old church book of Oley states indeed, that many of those awakened later moved away from the vicinity, so that it appeared needless to record all their names. But the names of twenty-one families are given, amongst which the following were specially prominent—Leinbach, Neukirch, Schneider, Börstler, Vetter, Ritter, Kinzy, Bertolet, de Levan, de Türck and Hoch. One of the unmarried men, Joseph Schebosh, later became a well-known missionary amongst the Indians.

This was the state of affairs, when Henry Antes and the Associated Brethren of Skippack issued their call for the first of the Pennsylvania Synods, to convene in Germantown in the home of Theobald Endt, a clockmaker. It was in session on January 12 and 13, 1742. The aim of the gatherings during their first years was nothing less than a federation of all German Protestants in the New World, that the needless credal controversies might not be perpetuated but rather avoided here, whilst proper provision should also be made for the religious needs of those who adhered more narrowly to one or another of the historic divisions of Protestantism. Practically all the denominations to be found at this time amongst the German Protestants of Pennsylvania were represented in the early gatherings of the Synod, and no denomination had as yet been fully organized as such. Nine were represented in the first sessions held in Germantown. But the final outcome testified to the fact, that the ideals of the Associated Brethren of Skippack and of Zinzendorf, with whose purposes those of the former completely coincided, were far ahead of the age. By 1748 the various denominations of Pennsylvania had crystallized and these union gatherings merged into synods of the Moravian Church.

The third of the interdenominational assemblies was in session at Oley on February 25 and 27, New Style. Zinzendorf had already paid a visit to John Bertolet and preached in his house

on Second Christmas Day. The membership of the Synod numbered about one hundred. For its use a young married man born here at Oley, and at this time twenty-nine years of age, placed his house and his large barn at disposal. This was John de Türck, who had been deeply moved during the revival and had been baptized by Eschenbach the previous spring. On both sides he was of Huguenot stock. His paternal ancestors had first fled from France to the Palatinate, and for a time resided at Frankenthal. John's father, Isaac de Turque, after a temporary sojourn near Esopus in the Colony of New York, had come to Oley early in the century and had obtained a patent for his land there in 1712.

The chief transactions of this Synod were ordinations, baptisms and the election of trustees for the Synod. To mention the least significant first, the men chosen as trustees of the Synod were the following: Andrew Frey, of the Dunker persuasion, Anthony Seiffert, a minister of the Moravian Church (whose ordination by Bishop David Nitschmann in Savannah six years previously had made a deep impression on John Wesley) together with Gottfried Haverecht, a member of the Ephrata Community. The ordinations which now took place at Oley were those of Andrew Eschenbach, Gottlob Büttner, Christian Henry Rauch and Christopher Pyrlaeus. That of the first put a seal of approval on the work he had been doing with such blessing in the neighborhood. Since July, 1740, Rauch had been the pioneer of the mission amongst the Indians of White Plains, Dutchess County, New York. Büttner, a young man of twenty, from Silesia, was set apart for a mission projected amongst the Iroquois. Christopher Pyrlaeus, a former student of theology at Leipzig, was to serve amongst the Lutherans of Philadelphia.

But what must have stirred all present at the Synod was the baptism of the three men who constituted the first-fruits of the mission of Rauch amongst the Mohicans and Wampanoags of New York and Connecticut, Shabash, Seim and Kiop—sometimes also given as Schabash, Otaharanunem and Mashek. The fame of these Red Men, who were coming hither for baptism, had been spread abroad. Many of their own race had been drawn from the upper reaches of the Schuylkill by the rumor of the approach-

ing sacred transaction. One of the three candidates was familiar with the Delaware language. From noon of the day before until midnight previous to their baptism the three sat with their brothers of the forests, telling them the astonishing story of the love of God made known through the redemption wrought by Jesus, the Saviour of all mankind. At their baptism within the barn of John de Türck they received the names of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, in the pious hope that they might become the patriarchs of Christian Indian tribes.

For the congregation at Oley over which Eschenbach had now been placed as pastor John Leinbach, Sr., was elected Warden; and into this office he was inducted at a synod convoked soon afterwards in Germantown. John de Türck gave one acre of land as the site for a church, and a like piece of land nearby was presented by the father-in-law of the last named, Samuel Hoch, though he appears to have not yet been baptized. All went well at first. Who can tell what might have been the outcome, if it had longer continued thus? For this was as yet a thinly occupied land. Berks County had not even been erected. Land had indeed been surveyed, where Reading arose. But nearly two years after the Synod of Oley Thomas Penn in a couple of letters refers to "Reading town" as an intended town. Acrelius, the historian of New Sweden, when writing in 1738, gives Reading only sixty houses.

But alas! what has been experienced elsewhere, was soon experienced at Oley. The planning and erection of a church building led to grave differences of opinion and strife, and finally to divisions. As was natural and also quite customary in those days, the people of Oley set to work with a will, and felled timber for a first primitive church, to be built of logs. But Eschenbach's conception of a house of worship was different. A modest log church appeared to him to be unworthy. He wanted a larger structure and one constructed of brick. But the Warden and a majority of the people did not agree with his more ambitious plans. This reacted on the tone of his public addresses. The matter was brought before a synod in Germantown, and again the verdict went against Eschenbach. Still he remained unconvinced. Zinzendorf came to Oley and tried to allay the trouble, but without success. The determination of Eschenbach grew

and hardened with opposition. In 1743 he was recalled to Bethlehem. Apparently, in 1745, he withdrew to a farm in the hills near Oley. Schrautenbach gives him the honorable testimony that he in no wise antagonized his former Brethren. He seems to have simply lost all heart. Nothing that he now undertook appears to have prospered. Now and again he visited Bethlehem, seeking comfort for his troubled spirit; but nothing that could be done was of special avail.

Unfortunately the strife that had started in connection with the building of the church at Oley had a very ill effect on the life of the congregation as an organization, the more so as there was no one at once on hand to replace him. Henry Antes was asked to undertake the task; but he did not see his way clear to leave his own home at Frederick, though he did come over to conduct services in Oley. So he was given an assistant in the person of Jacob Kuhn, who was placed in charge of the school that had been started there. But he too was dissatisfied with the house in which he lived and also conducted the school. In 1744 he was replaced by Abraham Meinung, who had come to America with Zinzendorf, in 1741, and who went to St. Thomas, in 1745, dying there, in 1749. The stay of his successor, Wolfgang Michler from Württemberg, was also short, not more than two or three years, during which Robert Hussey and wife had charge of the school. At least five different pastors followed in the ten years after Michler.

The frequent changes of the Moravian workers were all the more unfortunate, because in these years there came to Oley an independent preacher, Dr. George de Benneville, a Huguenot physician, of noble lineage in France, who attracted many of the people, and became a pioneer of the Universalist faith in America. A polished gentleman, highly educated and an attractive speaker, he presented a contrast to Michler and Hussey, neither of whom possessed special gifts of public utterance. Indeed the forty-five persons, who nevertheless held to the Moravians in spite of the counter attraction, had to be sometimes content with having a printed sermon read to them. All the more important therefore were the occasional vists paid to Oley by the itinerant Moravian evangelists. Among these last in the early fifties, George Soelle was especially efficient, a Dane by birth, a theologically trained

university man who was master of German and English in addition to his own mother-tongue. In 1758, Soelle was transferred to New England, and later served at Broadbay, in Maine, leading the colony of German settlers thence to North Carolina, in 1770, and, after the settlement at Friedland was successfully started, he served as an itinerant evangelist whose circuit had a radius of about fifty miles from Salem. His headquarters here he made in the home of the Unmarried Brethren, with whose spiritual oversight he was especially entrusted.

In the later forties, the educational work at Oley came to be regarded as of particular importance. John Leinbach, Sr., served for a time as steward and then Henry Leinbach. Frequent changes characterized the educational management. The original building proving too small to accommodate the boarders a new building was undertaken, in 1748, and was ready for occupancy the following spring. Apparently about twenty girls and seventeen boys entered it. In this year and the next ten boys were transferred from Germantown and seventeen from the school in Frederick—the latter chiefly sons of such as were engaged in the work of the Church as evangelists or missionaries. The old account book of this school at Oley casts an interesting light on the cost of living in a frontier settlement of Pennsylvania during the middle of the eighteenth century. In 1751, the charge for three months was three pounds, or six pounds for half a year, evidently therefore at the rate of one pound per month. For making a pair of new shoes the charge was three shillings and six pence for a girl and five shillings and si xpence for a woman, and five shillings for a boy and seven shillings for a man. A new shirt for a boy cost one shilling; a new coat and short jacket for a boy cost together seven shillings. But fifteen shillings were demanded for two pounds of tea, or for half a pound three shillings and nine pence. Four pounds of sugar could be bought for two shillings.

It appears that already in 1744 Oley had been the seat of a second synod; but no record of the transactions of this gathering has come down to us. It is different in the case of a Synod in session here from November 3 to 5, 1752. On this occasion one hundred and twenty-two persons were present, the number being equally divided between ministerial workers and laymen. Oley itself was represented by two Leinbachs, two Börstlers, Martin

Moll, Samuel Hoch and John de Türck. Large congregations gathered from the entire neighborhood to hear sermons preached by Gottlob Herrmann in German and by Jacob Rogers in English. Spangenberg was absent on his tour of exploration in North Carolina. The gathering was therefore presided over by Bishop Matthew Hehl. As on the occasion of the first synod at Oley ten years previously, much attention was paid to missionary work amongst the heathen. Seven years before this third synod at Oley the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel had been organized. And for a number of years the supervision of the missions in the West Indies and in Berbice constituted a part of the duties of the authorities at Bethlehem, missionaries sent to the tropics making either Newport, Rhode Island, or New York their port of departure. However this Synod, in 1752, gave attention to a wide field of missionary activity besides the work being done in the West Indies and in Berbice. A report was read of the journey of David Zeisberger and Rundt to Onondago, and the Indian work in the Wyoming Valley, Otstonwakin and Shamokin, in Gnadenhütten on the Mahoning and at Meniolagomeka came under review. At a public meeting of the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel, the collection taken reached the very respectable sum of ten pounds, quite a considerable amount, when the purchasing power of money and its scarcity in the colony are taken into account.

According to a note in the Bethlehem Archives in the handwriting of Spangenberg, and dated May 8, 1755, the property of the Moravian Church in Oley consisted of a house on rising ground close by a spring and near to the church and "the former school-house", besides the cemetery, which had been fenced in this spring. This new house, he says, contains six rooms and a large hall, and a dining-room in addition. It was built by Henry Leinbach, who spent more than one hundred pounds of his own on it in addition to giving his own labor. And for all he gave the church a receipt in full. Here John Schneider and his wife were living and keeping the school. In 1756, there were fifty-three children living in it.

By this time two ministerial couples were stationed at Oley. The need for this was caused, in part, by the fact that at this time Fredericktown, the former home of Henry Antes, where a num-

ber of Moravian adherents lived, was also served from Oley, and the Oley pastors also visited Lynn or Allemaengel and a union church near Mertztown, known as Maxatawny.

Probably the longest pastorate at Oley was that of John Henry Moeller, a Dane by birth, who served from May, 1754, till into 1759, when he was retransferred to Bethlehem to become the financial manager of the Girls' School there. It was during his incumbency in Oley that old father Samuel Hoch was at last ready to make confession of faith by baptism, namely on April 24, 1757, his daughter Maria, the wife of Abraham Poetter, being baptized at the same time. Bishop Hehl is named as the ministrant in connection with the father and Bishop Spangenberg in connection with the daughter. Another daughter, the wife of a Mr. Hottenstein of Reading, was baptized on her death-bed by Pastor Reinhardt of Reading, January 16, 1758. There would almost appear to have been some feeling in certain families in Oley against the baptism of children; for, on the occasion of the baptism of a child of Frederick Leinbach a year before, the pastor at Oley notes that no less than twenty children were present who themselves had not been baptized. I find also no mention of the baptism of any of the five sons and three daughters of John de Türck, born between 1742 and 1757.

Although Oley enjoyed for two years the services of George Neisser as the successor of Moeller, the days of special opportunity for the building up of a congregation were apparently over. Neisser's health seems not to have been too good, though he was still in the prime of life and survived his Oley pastorate for more than twenty years. Besides, his energies were divided by having to serve Fredericktown and Lynn in addition. He also preached occasionally in the church built by Sebastian de Levan at Maxatawny. In his day the first schoolmaster and diarist of Bethlehem, it is to his methodical care for historical data that we today chiefly owe our knowledge of the fortunes of the enterprise at Oley. At the close of his pastorate in July, 1761, when he left on account of ill health, the total membership was only 71, half being children. No successor was available till the following year.

Now came a time of transition. Zinzendorf had died and Spangenberg was about to return to Europe. The "Economy" at

Bethlehem and Nazareth, which had rendered such important aid to both home and foreign missions, was in the process of being liquidated. Indeed in this year, 1761, its accounts were separated from those of the church-work proper. One is not surprised, therefore, that Wolfgang Michler, the next to serve Oley, was expected to eke out his living by working as a weaver in addition to teaching school and preaching. This did not make for vigorous congregational life, especially since it is stated that he was not blessed with a gift for public speaking. Furthermore the growth of the nearby town of Reading and the rising importance of its religious and economic life attracted quite a number of the younger people of Oley, who removed thither, for example four of the children of Henry Leinbach. Moreover Oley had also been contributing its part towards the growth of other Moravian congregations. Prior to 1758, sixteen males and twenty-three females removed thence, chiefly to Bethlehem, a few to Wachovia whither Frederick Leinbach trekked in the Spring of 1766, after selling his farm in the previous November.

Until 1770, George Pitschmann, the last pastor of Oley, continued to minister to his diminishing flock and to teach school and also sit on the weaver's bench. But already in 1769, the church property was being cared for by Daniel Hoch. Letters to Nathanael Seidel, the successor of Spangenberg in Bethlehem, written on March 20 and April 8, 1773, and signed by Daniel Hoch, Jacob Schneider, John de Türck and Peter Schneider, make it plain that the first named as the representative of the Moravian Church had agreed to meet the four men in order to execute a deed legally transferring the Oley property. But just to whom it was to be transferred does not appear.

That the Brethren felt some responsibility for the religious needs of the Oley Valley for quite a period beyond this, is, however, clear. For instance, it may be learnt from the Bethlehem Diary, June 27, 1784, that Anton Wagner, the pastor of Emmaus, preached once a month at Oley and in the old de Levan Church at Maxatawny. The last person laid to rest in the little cemetery on the hill at Oley was "Mother Boerstler" in 1779; but who conducted the service is not mentioned.

Musical Life in the Pennsylvania Settlements of the *Unitas Fratrum*

A Paper read at the annual meeting of the Moravian Historical Society at Nazareth, Pa., on October 13, 1938

By Dr. Hans Theodore David

Prefatory Note

The American Philosophical Society generously made a grant, in 1937, for a study of the music of the American Moravians. This grant was given from the Penrose Fund for the Advancement of Knowledge through Investigation to the Moravian Seminary and College for Women at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, as a preliminary contribution to the latter's bicentenary celebration, due in 1942. The grant made it possible to examine, for the first time, the entire musical material preserved in the Pennsylvania libraries of the Moravian Church. The material chiefly came from the Central Church at Bethlehem and the Moravian Church at Lititz; it is now assembled in the fireproof Moravian Archives on the campus of the Moravian College and Theological Seminary, at Bethlehem.

The project was supervised by the late Dr. Albert G. Rau, who was the first to realize that the early American Moravians not only had liked music but also created a considerable number of compositions, many of which could still be found. The detailed research was carried out by the author of the following paper. The main tasks were to determine which compositions had been composed in America, and to prepare a critical catalogue of these compositions. Through the cooperation of the New York Public Library, the Works Progress Administration, and the Federal Music Project, it was furthermore possible to make a number of outstanding compositions by American Moravians available in blackline prints.

The following paper attempts to draw a general sketch of the history of music in the Pennsylvania settlements of the

Moravians as it is mirrored in the musical material preserved rather than in literary sources. The original paper has been enlarged for publication.

1

Religious and Political Background

Bohemia and Moravia have been for centuries a major scene in the political as well as spiritual history of Europe. The territory united after the first World War in the state of Czechoslovakia had been conquered successively by Celtic, Teutonic, and Slavic tribes. The struggle of the Czechs to maintain their language and at least some independence against the Germans, who were either their neighbors or their masters, turned the country again and again into a battlefield.

Christianity came to the Czechs from the East, brought by Greek monks. Later the Byzantine influence was supplanted by domination of the Roman Church. Opposition to the Roman Church, however, was stronger in Bohemia and Moravia than in any other country, and it was here that the Reformation started.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, Jan Hus was the spiritual leader of the Bohemians. Hus, for some time rector of Prague University, was cherished as a preacher both in Czech and Latin; among his works was an *Orthographia bohemica*, which testifies to his interest in Czech matters. Hus, whose religious teaching was largely based on the works of John Wycliffe, was accused of heresy and summoned to appear before the Council of Constance. The Emperor granted him a safe conduct. Nevertheless, Hus was imprisoned, condemned, and burnt at the stake on July 6, 1415. This date may be called the birthday of the Reformation. A revolution of religious as well as national and social character broke out. Pope and Emperor tried without success to wipe out the Hussites. But almost from the beginning the Hussites themselves were split into a more radical and a more moderate group, and civil strife filled the intervals between the wars with the common enemies. Finally, the radical group of Hussites was crushed. The victorious group came to terms with the Roman Church and formed the national Church of Bohemia. But the representatives of the new church failed to

display the moral fibre that made Hus such an imposing personality. A new group arose within the Bohemian Church. Its members settled, in 1457, on the estate of Lititz, which belonged to George of Podebrad, Regent and later King of Bohemia. The congregation of the "Brethren and Sisters of the Law of Christ", as they first called themselves, soon assumed the name of *Unitas Fratrum.* In 1467, it became the first Church to break away entirely from the Papacy.

As the Reformation spread, the persecution of the Protestants grew more and more virulent. When the Thirty Years' War ended, in 1648, the Protestants in Bohemia and Moravia were completely suppressed. But the faith and the traditions of the Church of the United Brethren were secretly passed on from generation to generation, and in the eighteenth century a Renewed Church arose.

Nicolaus Ludwig, Count of Zinzendorf and Pottendorf, allowed a group of the Brethren to settle on his private estate in Saxony. The new center of the *Unitas Fratrum* was christened Herrnhut—the "Shelter of the Lord". The settlement developed successfully, but not without inner conflicts and external difficulties. Zinzendorf himself met persecution and was for a number of years banished from Saxony. His followers were known in Germany as *Böhmische Brüder* or *Herrnhuter.* In England, they were nicknamed "Moravian Brethren", or simply "Moravians", and although the German element predominated over the Czech in the Renewed Church, the *Unitas Fratrum* itself finally assumed the official designation "Moravian Church".

The *Unitas Fratrum* was the first Protestant Church devoted to missionary work for religious rather than political reasons. To evangelize the heathen, the Moravians settled in the most remote corners of the earth. In the 1730's, missionaries went to Ceylon, West Africa, Greenland, Lapland, and to the Samoyedes on the shore of the Arctic Ocean. The same decade witnessed the foundation of Moravian settlements in the Western Hemisphere: in the West Indies (1732), and then in South America and Georgia (1735).

To take up arms was against the principles of many of the Moravians. Those who had settled in Georgia left that colony when the war between England and Spain broke out. They went north

with George Whitefield, the famous preacher and evangelist, and arrived at Philadelphia on April 20, 1740. Whitefield, planning to open a school for Negro children, employed the Moravians to erect a large stone house, but, before it was finished, difficulties arose between Whitefield and the Moravians, and the latter left Whitefield's property. They joined forces with another group of Brethren, who had just arrived from Europe to settle in Pennsylvania. A site on the north shore of the Lehigh River was selected, and Zinzendorf himself, on Christmas Eve, 1741, gave the name of Bethlehem to the new community. Two years later, Whitefield's tract of land was purchased by the Moravians; thus the settlement at Nazareth began. The large stone house was completed and eventually became the Museum of the Moravian Historical Society. A third Moravian center was established in Lancaster County; it received the name of Litiz (more recently spelled *Lititz*). Other colonies were added in Pennsylvania, in the neighboring colonies, and in North Carolina, where Salem (now part of Winston-Salem) became the most flourishing. Moravian congregations were also founded in places of non-Moravian origin like Lancaster, Yorktown, and Philadelphia.

The settlements of the Moravians, carefully planned and strictly organized, were highly regarded in Colonial and Revolutionary America. Among the visitors to Bethlehem were Martha Washington and almost all the early Presidents of the United States. A "presbyter in the Protestant Episcopalian Church," John Cosens Ogden, considered an *Excursion into Bethlehem and Nazareth in Pennsylvania in the Year 1799* a worthy topic for a book, and that book met with such success that it went through two editions (Philadelphia, 1800 and 1805). More than fifty years later, the settlements still possessed so much of their fascinating original character that one of the Moravians themselves, James Henry, gave a comprehensive account of them to the outside world in a book of *Sketches of Moravian Life and Character* (Philadelphia, 1859).

Among the distinctive features of the Moravian settlements was their rich musical life. Benjamin Franklin, who, as lieutenant general of forces fighting the Indians in 1755-1756, temporarily made Bethlehem his headquarters, mentions in a frequently quoted passage of his *Autobiography* that in the Bethlehem

church he heard "good musick, the organ accompanied with violins, hautboys, flutes, clarinets, etc." Martha Washington, who passed through Bethlehem in 1779, and George Washington, who stayed there in 1782, were both entertained with music of various kinds. Ogden describes one of the regular services, during which several hymns were sung. Henry devotes one of his sketches to the musical activities of the Moravians. And, in addition, we have a quaint little monograph on *Music in Bethlehem* by another Moravian, Rufus A. Grider[1].

"Music"—in Oscar Sonneck's words[2]—"was essential to the daily life of these sturdy people." At a time when Puritan circles objected even to organs in their churches, music was in fact cultivated in the Moravian settlements with hardly any restriction. Thus a wonderful musical development took place in these cultural outposts—a development that was unique in eighteenth-century America.

2

Musical Background

The Bohemians of both Czech and German extraction are known for their musical talent. Many excellent musicians, especially instrumentalists, have come from Austrian Bohemia or Czechoslovakia. In the nineteenth century, Bedrich Smetana and Antonín Dvorak rose to international fame. The importance of Bohemian musicians was even greater in the eighteenth century. The "Mannheim" School, foremost exponent in the development of the new classical style, was founded by the Bohemian, Johann Stamitz, and the Moravian, Franz Xaver Richter; and their works became popular even with the French, who rarely had had reason to look eastward for artistic rather than political reasons.

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[1] First published as a chapter in John Hill Martin, *Historical Sketch of Bethlehem in Pennsylvania*, Philadelphia, 1872; corrected second printing, 1873; also separately as *Historical Notes on Music in Bethlehem*, Philadelphia, 1873. Large excerpts are given in *Church Music and Musical Life in Pennsylvania in the Eighteenth Century*, a publication of the Pennsylvania Society of the Colonial Dames of America, Philadelphia, vol. 2, 1927, pp. 254-270.

[2] *Early Concert-Life in America*, Leipzig, 1907, p. 157.

The musical inclination of the Czechs can be traced back beyond the fifteenth century. Popular sacred songs of the Bohemian Catholics as well as the Hussites have been preserved, and we have also a few manuscripts prepared for the service of Hussite groups[3]. The Moravian Brethren cultivated this tradition and gave it increased weight. A Czech hymn-book was published in 1501, the first Protestant hymn-book on record[4]. Martin Luther took over a number of hymns of the Brethren when he had the first books of chorales prepared for his own followers. In 1531, a German edition of hymns of the *Unitas Fratrum* was published by Michael Weisse[5]; from then on, the hymn-books with German words outnumber those with Czech words.

The Brethren have always proved themselves keenly interested in historical study. Accordingly, a hymn-book of 1639 was prefaced with rich biographical and bibliographical notes. A hymn-book of the same type was printed as late as 1780; a complete manuscript copy of this edition, made at "Yorktown" (York, Pa.) in the 1780's, is preserved in the Moravian Archives at Bethlehem[6].

The musical activity of the *Unitas Fratrum* took a new turn through the efforts of Count Zinzendorf. He was a gifted poet who used to express his religious thoughts and feelings in improvised hymns. He created the hymn-book of the Renewed Church. This hymn-book, printed at various places in succession, went through editions of differing sizes and changing contents. It is usually referred to as *Brüder-Gesangbuch.* The main editions were chronologically arranged, and eventually a separate volume of

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[3] August Wilhelm Ambros, *Geschichte der Musik*, third ed., vol. 3, Leipzig, 1891, pp. 428-430.

[4] J. T. Müller, *Bohemian Brethren's Hymnody*, in John Julian, *A Dictionary of Hymnology*, London, 1908, pp. 153-160.

[5] Original title: *Ein New Gesengbuchlen*, MDXXXI. A facsimile reprint, edited by Wilhelm Thomas, was published in Kassel, 1931, with the title: Michael Weisse, *Gesangbuch der Böhmischen Brüder vom Jahre 1531.*

[6] The hymns and tunes of the Moravian Brethren were also used by the Schwenkfeldians, and thus a valuable collection of early German hymn-books of the *Unitas Fratrum* has been assembled at the Library of the Schwenkfelder Historical Society at Pennsburg, Pa.

historical and biographical commentary was added. In America, the *Brüder-Gesangbuch* was used up to the beginning of the present century.

The tunes used with the hymns of the *Brüder-Gesangbuch* were first collected, in 1755, by Johann Daniel Grimm, a "Professor of Music" and composer of *Airs* which "possess great originality." Grimm's collection of hymn-tunes, with a later appendix, contains almost a thousand tunes with a figured bass for the organ; it was never published[7].

In the task of providing appropriate music for the service of the *Unitas Fratrum,* Zinzendorf was effectively aided by Christian Gregor, the first outstanding musical personality in the Renewed Moravian Church. Born at Dirsdorf, in Silesia, in 1723, he studied in his early years the "Science of Music with that diligence and attention, which renders German Musicians so eminent in their profession"; he was "justly esteemed for his musical and poetical talents, which he employed for the benefit of the Church; and greatly encouraged the study and practice of Music among young people"[8]. Serving for a number of years as organist at Herrnhut, Gregor was charged with the editing of the first printed tune-book of the Renewed Church. He selected a number of tunes from Grimm's tune-book, adding more than 60 "new" tunes, apparently of his own composition[9]. Gregor later entered the ministry of the Church and was consecrated a bishop in 1789. He died at Zeist, in Holland, in 1791.

Gregor developed a new type of composition which gave the service of the Church a distinct character. Zinzendorf and his

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[7] The characterization of Grimm is taken from Latrobe's preface to his edition of *Anthems for One, Two and more Voices, performed in the Church of the United Brethren,* London, 1811; Latrobe gives Grimm's middle name as Henry, probably by mistake. Grimm's *Choral-Buch, Darinnen enthalten alle Melodien so in den Brüder-Gesängen vorkommen,* is described in Johannes Zahn, *Die Melodien der deutschen evangelischen Kirchenlieder,* Gütersloh, 1889-1893, vol. 6, pp. 545-546. For biographical information on Grimm see Zahn, *op. cit.,* vol. 5, p. 451.

[8] Latrobe, *op. cit.*

[9] The original title of Gregor's tune-book is: *Choral-Buch enthaltend alle zu dem Gesangbuche der Evangelischen Brüder-Gemeinen vom Jahre 1778 gehörige Melodien,* Leipzig, 1784. *Cf.* Zahn, *op. cit.,* vol. 5, pp. 452-453, and vol. 6, pp. 358-359.

helpers worked out a complete *Liturgie* for all special occasions. The text of these liturgies was collected and first published in 1770. Many of them were completely set to music by Gregor and other Moravians. They were performed by the *liturgus*, the choir, strings, and organ. Musically they were quite simple, written chiefly in a syllabic style with numerous repeated notes, reminiscent of Gregorian chant and Lutheran litanies. The chorus parts were mostly kept in four-part writing note against note. The instruments at first played in unison with the voices throughout, but later they were given slightly more independence, and even short interludes were introduced.

Gregor relates in his autobiography that he began in 1759 to arrange cantatas for the use of the Church[10]. Soon afterwards, he wrote his first original works. Gregor established the type of composition predominantly cultivated by the musicians of the Renewed Moravian Church: a rather short anthem, generally in one movement, for chorus with instruments. Gregor's anthems were more melodious, varied, and vivid than his liturgies, but he hardly ever introduced elements of polyphonic writing, in contrast to contemporary masters like Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach and Carl Heinrich Graun who kept the polyphonic tradition alive through some of their sacred works. For the chorus, Gregor wrote in a plain, straightforward manner that made performance by little-trained groups possible. The instruments, which usually contributed a prelude, interludes, and a postlude, were treated with less caution than the voices. Gregor regularly required only a group of strings and the organ; later composers added wind instruments on occasion. In America, Gregor's anthems were much liked and used; thus many of them have been preserved in the Moravian Archives.

Gregor's example was followed by other Moravians. Among them were Johann Gottfried Gebhard, who is mentioned as *Musik-Direktor* at the Barby seminary, about 1786, and who pub-

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[10] It was a custom of the Moravians to read at funerals a *Lebenslauf*, a short biography of the deceased. Commonly these biographical notes were written by the Brethren and Sisters themselves in anticipation of their end. The biographies of outstanding members of the Church were published in the *Nachrichten aus der Brüder-Gemeine*. Gregor's is found in the issue of 1818, vol. 1, and in the issue of 1882, vol. 1, pp. 865-903.

lished a few works for the *clavecin* and piano[11]; Johann Ludwig Freydt, who held the post of *Musik-Direktor* at Niesky and Barby for many years[12]; Carl Friedrich Hasse, who lived for a while in a village near Bautzen and then went to England[13]; and Johann Christian Geisler, certain of whose compositions are preserved at Bethlehem, possibly in holograph manuscripts. Little information about these men could be found without recurrence to the European archives of the Church. They are represented by a few works in the Bethlehem archives, but their musical output as well as their influence seems to have been small.

The most talented and discriminating among Gregor's followers was Christian Ignatius Latrobe. Born at Fulneck in 1757, he was educated in Germany, spent the larger part of his life in England, and died at Fairfield, near Manchester, in 1836. He was a minister, not a musician by profession, but he was a passionate lover of music and apparently an expert musical scholar. In an England blinded by posthumous admiration of Handel, he propagated the classical polyphony as well as the modern music of the continent. He wrote fine anthems and a set of sonatas for the pianoforte that was published at the suggestion of Haydn and dedicated to him. Latrobe edited the *Hymn-Tunes sung in the Church of the United Brethren,* the first English tune-book of the Moravian Church; he used Gregor's melodies and basses, adding two inner parts in close harmony to the tunes. Latrobe also edited, in 1811, *Anthems for One, Two or more Voices, performed in the Church of the United Brethren;* this collection, the only one of its kind ever published, gave the vocal score of works by Moravian as well as other composers. Latrobe's greatest contribution to music was his *Selection of Sacred Music,* published in six volumes between 1806 and 1826; containing numerous out-

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[11] Ernst Ludwig Gerber, *Neues historisch-biographisches Lexikon der Tonkünstler*, Leipzig, 1812-1814, vol. 2, column 276. See also Robert Eitner, *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon der Musiker und Musikgelehrten*, Leipzig, vol. 4, p. 187.

[12] Latrobe included a composition by Freydt in the collection of anthems he edited in 1811; Freydt had already died when Latrobe wrote the preface to that publication.

[13] He, too, is represented in Latrobe's collection of anthems; see also Gerber, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, col. 516.

standing works chiefly by German and Italian composers, it bears witness to Latrobe's uncommon taste and knowledge of musical literature[14].

Several Moravian composers, including Latrobe, wrote instrumental music and let instruments play an important role in their anthems. "The practice of Instrumental Music," Latrobe comments, "is recommended by the Brethren, as a most useful substitute for all those idle pursuits, in which young people too often consume their leisure hours; and since its application as an accompaniment and support to the voice is calculated to produce the most pleasing effect, its use in the Church has been retained." Such an attitude explains, to a great extent, the astonishing musical record of the American settlements of the Moravians, for it was the cultivation of instrumental music and the collaboration of voices and instruments in which the musical efforts of the American Moravians culminated.

3

Beginnings of Music in the Pennsylvania Moravian Settlements

Up to the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Moravian settlements in America were directed, in principle, by the center of the church administration in Germany. The history of the settlements, accordingly, depended more largely than that of many others upon European developments and decisions. Musical life, too, was at first but an offshoot, an imitation of European activities.[15]

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[14] E. Holmes, *The Rev. Christian Latrobe*, in *Musical Times*, September, 1851, gives a lively portrait of this fascinating personality. The article is followed by Latrobe's own account of his friendship with Haydn. See also Eitner, *Quellen-Lexikon*, vol. 6, pp. 71-72, and Grove's *Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 4th ed., London, 1940, vol. 3, pp. 111-112. Earlier editions of Grove's *Dictionary* include a list of contents of the *Selection of Sacred Music*. Copies of the *Anthems* are preserved at Bethlehem and in the New York Public Library; the latter also possesses a copy of the *Selection of Sacred Music*.

[15] The more recent literature on the development of music in the Pennsylvania Moravian settlements comprises the following items:

The Moravian Contribution to Pennsylvania Music, in *Church Music*

The Brethren and Sisters who crossed the ocean brought their hymns with them, and hymn-singing became one of the fundamental expressions of their spirit of faith and fellowship. Hymns were sung when the harvest was brought in, and the watchmen sang hymns to edify sleepless people. Special gatherings were devoted to hymn-singing. Various nationalities were represented at such meetings, and it became a custom to let everybody sing in his native tongue—thus at a love-feast in 1745 not less than thirteen languages were used by the singers.[16]

Many of the Brethren wrote hymns themselves, following the example of Count Zinzendorf. Into the cornerstone of Nazareth Hall, which was planned as a permanent residence for Count Zinzendorf himself and then used as a school building, two hymns written for the occasion were placed, one by Matthias Gottfried Hehl (1705-1787), a bishop of the Church, the other, in the Delaware language, by the Reverend Bernhard Adam Grube (1715-1808). These men, however, do not seem to have written hymn-tunes, and probably no music was included in the cornerstone.[17]

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and Musical Life in Pennsylvania in the Eighteenth Century, vol. 2, pp. 115-237.

Ruth H. Scott, *Music among the Moravians, Bethlehem, Pa., 1741-1876*, a Master's Thesis, Eastman School of Music, Department of Musicology, 1938; a copy available at the New York Public Library.

Albert G. Rau and Hans T. David, *A Catalogue of Music by American Moravians, 1742-1842*, Bethlehem, Pa., 1938.

Theodore M. Finney, *The Collegium Musicum at Lititz, Pennsylvania, during the Eighteenth Century*, in *Papers read by Members of the American Musicological Society at the annual meeting held in Pittsburgh, Pa., 1937*, pp. 45-55.

Hans Theodore David, *Background for Bethlehem* (*i.e.* the Bach Festival): *Moravian Music in Pennsylvania*, in *Magazine of Art*, 1938, pp. 222-225 and 254.

Hans Theodore David, *Music of the early Moravians in America*, in *Musical America*, 1938, pp. 5 and 33.

[16] See Joseph Mortimer Levering, *A History of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, 1741-1892*, Bethlehem, 1903, *passim*.

[17] The history of Nazareth, with occasional reference to music, is given in *Historic Nazareth*, compiled by George M. Shultz, edited by Amos A. Ettinger, and forming *part one* of *Two Centuries of Nazareth, 1740-1940*, Nazareth, 1940. See also Levin T. Reichel, *A History of Nazareth Hall from 1755-1855*, Philadelphia, 1855.

A few instruments were used almost from the beginning. Occasionally a procession is described in which players took part. Such was the case when the Whitefield House was finished; when the cornerstone of Nazareth Hall was laid; when the Hall was inaugurated; when the school, which—in this time of war and war-scare—had been removed to Bethlehem, returned to Nazareth. The music used on such occasions probably consisted entirely or predominantly of hymns.

The next step was the acquisition of keyboard instruments. On January 25, 1744, a *Spinett,* that is a harpsichord, arrived. It was, as the Church diary stated, considerably damaged by the voyage, but the Brethren were able to repair it quickly, and the next day it was first played in the service. In 1746, an organ was installed at Bethlehem by Johann Gottlieb Klemm, who himself moved to Bethlehem in 1757 and stayed there until his death in 1762.[18]

Klemm associated with himself David Tanneberger, a skillful joiner, who had arrived from Europe in 1749, at the age of twenty. Tanneberger gradually became the most famous organ-builder in Pennsylvania. In 1765, he removed his workshop to Lititz, working for Moravian as well as other congregations. While setting up an organ at Yorktown, in 1804, he had a stroke, fell from a scaffold, and died; and the organ was played for the first time at his funeral.[19] How deeply the Moravians were interested in organ building is shown by a treatise on *Die geheim gehaltene Kunst der Mensuration der Orgel Pfeiffen,* that is *"The secret art of mensuration of organ pipes,"* by Georg Andreas Sorge, a competent German composer and theorist. The book, full of diagrams and detailed mathematical tabulations, was especially written, as

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[18] A small organ of this period is now preserved in the museum of the Moravian Historical Society at Nazareth; according to the Rev. George M. Shultz, Librarian of the Society, this is the original first Bethlehem organ.

[19] His *Lebenslauf* is preserved at Lititz. It contains the life story of an industrious, well-balanced personality. His first wife having died, he married again, in 1800, and his second wife asserted that they had never had an unpleasant hour together. With the *Lebenslauf* are found balance sheets, drawn up for his partner Schnell, which show their activities from 1795 to 1804.

Sorge states, for "his friends in Pennsylvania." He mentions furthermore that the copy on hand was the second he dispatched; and since he does not allude to the first as lost, there is a definite possibility that it had been forwarded to Lititz for use by Tanneberger.

It was customary at Herrnhut to announce festivals and, also, the death of members of the community with an ensemble of four trombones. When someone had passed away, three chorales were played, the second of which was chosen according to the age and state of the departed—whether child or adult, male or female, single, married or widowed. In the colonies, horns or trumpets seem to have been used at first in place of the unavailable trombones. Then, in 1754, the first set of trombones was brought to America, and subsequently each congregation was provided with a set. The trombone players were posted out on the gallery of the Brethren's House or in the belfry of the church. They also went out to greet distinguished visitors and led processions like that which proceeded to the graveyard each Easter at sunrise. Trombones, however, were rarely played within the church and hardly ever in concerted music.

The first step toward a more elaborate church music was taken in Bethlehem as early as 1744, when a *Collegium musicum* was founded. The name had originally denoted informal gatherings of students or amateurs performing music for their own pleasure and enlightenment. It was taken over for musical meetings at Herrnhut; there, the *Collegium musicum* is said to have been initiated by August Gottlieb Spangenberg, a bishop and one of the outstanding personalities of the Renewed Moravian Church. At Bethlehem, the idea was introduced by Johann Christoph Pyrlaeus, who had arrived with the first group of Brethren sent from Europe to reinforce the original settlers of Bethlehem. His task probably was simply to give singing and playing lessons. He soon became the *Adjunct* of Count Zinzendorf and then his successor as a minister at Philadelphia. The *Collegium musicum* was taken over by Johann Erich Westmann, who is reported to have devoted an hour every evening to the work. But he, too, left Bethlehem after a short sojourn, and apparently no real progress was made. The problems of the *Collegium musicum* were discussed at a meeting in 1748, at which Spangenberg, who had arrived in the

meantime, was present. Fourteen players were available then, but Spangenberg did not think that the time had yet come to aspire to church music of higher standing.

Without a doubt, however, the interest in music was growing. Among the remnants of the *Gemeinmusik* of Bethlehem, that is the musical library of the community, a number of items have been found that may go back to the 1740's and 1750's. They include miscellaneous collections of arias, songs, and cantatas, apparently brought from Europe; a few volumes of instrumental music; and even a book in lute tablature containing hymns and dances. There are also a few particularly interesting manuscripts that belonged to the Sisters' House at Bethlehem. They contain anthems arranged for choir with strings and harp; one of them even was worked out for choir and strings with two harps and a harpsichord. Whether originally written out for the Sisters' House or deposited there afterwards, they were evidently arranged for local use, representing perhaps the oldest extant material prepared by Moravians in America. In the old diaries and other contemporary sources we find passing remarks that Christian Friedrich Oerter arranged cantatas and that Georg Neisser, the first Bethlehem schoolmaster, was skilful in the preparation of scores. No work of either man can now be identified, but perhaps it was either Oerter or Neisser who made the arrangements preserved in the manuscripts from the Sisters' House.

4

Jeremiah Dencke and Immanuel Nitschmann

In 1761, two men arrived from Europe who were to give a decisive impulse to musical art in the Moravian communities: Jeremiah Dencke, who played the organ and became the first composer among the Moravians in America, and Immanuel Nitschmann, who played the violin and throughout his life proved himself a faithful servant of music. Prior to the time of their arrival, the cultivation of music seems to have been a rather continuous struggle. Now music reached a truly artistic level, and the Moravians succeeded in maintaining that level through the decades which followed, in spite of the difficulties of life at the edge of the wilderness.

Dencke was born at Langenbilau, Silesia, on October 2, 1725. He became organist at Gnadenfrei and, in 1748, at Herrnhut. He held church offices at various places. In America, he served first as *Brüderpfleger* (chaplain of the single Brethren) at Christianspring, near Nazareth. From 1772 to 1784, he was warden of the Bethlehem congregation; this period included the hard years of the Revolutionary War, during which the Brethren's House was used as a hospital. Dencke worked as pastor successively at Bethlehem, Lititz, and Nazareth. He finally returned to Bethlehem, where he spent his last years as overseer of the married people. He died on May 28, 1795, survived by his third wife, Elizabeth Leinbach of Oley, Pa.

In 1766, a synod was held at Bethlehem. It was opened with a composition by Dencke, the oldest surviving piece of music composed by a Moravian in America. It was a simple anthem, almost in the style of a liturgy, for chorus and strings with a figured bass for the organ. In the following two years, Dencke composed music for three services of the Church. The first was written for the annual festival of the younger girls; the second for the Christmas service of the children; the third for the Christmas service of the congregation. For each of the services, Dencke wrote several compositions, all for a solo soprano with accompaniment of strings and organ.[20]

Dencke, who was considered worthy to serve as organist at Herrnhut, must have been an outstanding musician. His compositions are well written and quite attractive. The voice part is melodious, introducing at places elements of the recitative and even the chorale with considerable effectiveness. The instruments are cleverly used in the best style of this pre-Classical period. Some of the movements were later made into choruses and a few independent choruses by Dencke are also preserved. Unfortunately, he did not compose much; apparently in later life he was too much burdened by his offices to have time for composing. His influence, nevertheless, must have been considerable. Ap-

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[20] Dencke's *Musick zum Mädgen-Fest 1767* is included in *Ten Sacred Songs for Soprano, Strings, and Organ*, No. 1 of *Music of the Moravians in America*, edited by the author of this paper, issued by the New York Public Library, 1938-1939. The volume contains, in addition, songs by Johann Friedrich Peter, Simon Peter, Herbst, Müller, and Antes.

parently he was the first to compose anything more than hymns in the settlements, and apparently he was the first to introduce a really concerted music into the service of the American Moravian Church. His works have an even broader significance. As far as we can ascertain, they represent the earliest of their kind preserved from Colonial times. In their modest way, they are free of provincialism, and they were hardly ever equalled afterwards except by other Moravian composers.[21]

Nitschmann was a less fortunate personality. Born at Herrnhut on April 2, 1736, he studied the history of the Church. But, for undisclosed reasons, not much use was made of his spiritual talents, and he had the feeling, as he mentions in his autobiographical notes, that he had not fulfilled his vocation. He served as a minister and for many years compiled the church diary, but he was able to devote much time to music. He was too modest to attempt composition; instead, he copied music in his big, steady hand, building up the first music library of the Bethlehem community.

In the 1760's and 1770's, all compositions that were to be performed during one service were written together on folio sheets. The music included was largely by Gregor and Geisler. Almost all the folio sheets were written by Nitschmann. Later, the compositions were separated and smaller sheets used; a considerable number of these copies were also made by Nitschmann, aided now by Jacob Van Vleck, his brother-in-law.

Presumably in the 1770's, Nitschmann wrote out the complete parts to Handel's *Messiah*. Whether the work was performed as a whole, we cannot tell. The parts, however, show signs of heavy use, and undoubtedly they served frequently at least for the performance of selections.

Nitschmann's interest was not confined to church music. As a violinist, he naturally liked instrumental music. The archives at Bethlehem include a number of symphonies copied by Nitsch-

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[21] None of the earlier accounts of the musical development in the Moravian settlements or more generally in Colonial America mentions Dencke. The author feels that the discovery of his compositions was the most valuable result of the investigation made possible through the grant by the American Philosophical Society.

mann—in America, as the watermarks indicate. The compositions were by Benda, Fils, Förster, and Riepel. Nitschmann also arranged arias from operas by Hasse and Graun for three violins, viola, and figured bass. All of this music was evidently meant for use by the *Collegium musicum.* In 1780, this body numbered eleven players, including two flutists and two French-horn players. Nitschmann, together with Van Vleck, played the first violin. There can be little doubt that Nitschmann had a good share in making the *Collegium musicum* of Bethlehem an efficient organization, able to support a comparatively elaborate church music and to perform the symphonies of the period.

Nazareth and Lititz, too, had their *Collegia musica,* but little information about their early activities can be gathered. The *Collegium musicum* at Nazareth probably used chiefly material brought over from Bethlehem, only a few miles away; whatever library it may have possessed is lost or scattered. At Lititz, scanty material antedating the 1780's has been preserved. Among the ministers there, Bishop Hehl and the Reverend Grube deserve mention; both were interested in music and fragments of compositions by both have been found. Grube is said to have founded an orchestra at Lititz in 1765, but the remnants of the first library of the Lititz church indicate that the music performed in church was for many years restricted to choral pieces with organ accompaniment. Strings seem to have been introduced into church music in the late 1770's; we may assume that only then the *Collegium musicum* began to cultivate instrumental music on a larger scale. In 1778, an enterprising young musician, Tobias Hirte, made some improvements at the site of the large spring around which the settlement had grown, and it became a *rendezvous* of soldiers and musicians, Sisters and other Brethren from the community; but such intercourse was immediately stopped and Hirte heavily rebuked.

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Simon and Johann Friedrich Peter

Nine years after Dencke and Nitschmann, in 1770, the most gifted of the American Moravian composers and perhaps the most gifted of the Moravian composers in general arrived: Johann Friedrich Peter. He was the son of the older Johann Fried-

rich Peter, who had crossed the ocean together with Dencke and Nitschmann to serve as minister to the Bethlehem congregation.

The older Peter had been a minister at Heerendijk, in Holland. There two sons were born to him, Simon in 1741, and Johann Friedrich in 1746. The boys were educated at various places in Holland and Germany and then came together to the Colonies. After a short stay at Bethlehem, both were employed as teachers at Nazareth Hall. After a few years they returned to Bethlehem. Then they were separated. Johann Friedrich went to Lititz for half a year, in 1779, and then proceeded to Salem, North Carolina, where he spent ten years. Simon remained at Bethlehem till 1784 and then went to the Southern Province for good; he died at Salem on May 19, 1819. Johann Friedrich returned to the Northern Province in 1790. After a stay at Graceham, Maryland, he served at Hope, New Jersey, for a few years. In December 1793, he was called back to Bethlehem. There he spent the rest of his life, except for two years at Montjoy, a small settlement in Pennsylvania. He was married, in 1786, to Catharina Leinbach of Oley, Pa., a sister or close relative of Dencke's third wife. Peter died at Bethlehem on July 13, 1813.

Both Simon and Johann Friedrich were ministers of the Church and both were able musicians, but the one was more successful as a pastor, the other as a musician, and apparently they were employed in accordance with their gifts. Thus only scanty records are left of Simon's musical activities. We know that he gave lessons in singing as well as organ and violin playing; and that he instructed David Weinland, the first double-bass player at Bethlehem. He wrote a few compositions, only one of which is preserved in Pennsylvania—a fine, expressive solo for soprano with strings and organ[21a]. His influence in the Northern Province apparently was not very great; it may have been more considerable in the North Carolina settlements.

Johann Friedrich Peter, on the other hand, had sufficient time and occasion to develop his natural talents. While at school in Germany, he copied whatever good instrumental music he could lay his hands on. Written between 1767 and 1770, these copies represent an excellent cross section through this period of trans-

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[21a] Included in *Music of the Moravians in America*, No. 1.

ition, which still is not sufficiently explored. They include a dozen symphonies by Carl Friedrich Abel; two symphonies by Johann Christoph Friedrich Bach (which, by the way, are not preserved otherwise); trios by Stamitz; a dozen chamber-music works by Haydn, including one of the string quintets, which was never published; and numerous works by lesser-known composers. Whether he ever had any other musical training we do not know, but the study of these works certainly afforded the finest musical education a young musician could go through at that time.

Peter continued to further music by copying vocal as well as instrumental compositions, excluding, however, secular vocal material. The library of the Bethlehem congregation, as it consisted at the beginning of the nineteenth century, when church music at Bethlehem reached the climax of its development, was largely Peter's work. He usually wrote out the parts to one or two compositions on small sheets. Following a practice common with the Moravian musicians, he added an organ reduction, probably chiefly for rehearsing purposes. The bass of his organ reductions was figured; when chorus and orchestra were sure of their parts, Peter may have improvised a free accompaniment according to the figures. He had a very neat and almost elegant handwriting, and he rarely made a mistake. At first he needed only a single set of vocal parts, but the church choir apparently grew rather steadily. In later years, Peter had the occasional assistance of Hannah Weber, a single Sister, who lived at Bethlehem from 1763 to 1840, and made her living by copying church records and music; and of Christian Friedrich Schaaff, the singing teacher of the children, who arrived from Europe in 1795, stayed at Bethlehem till 1819 and then went to Salem, where he died, a most popular old man, in 1841.

Among Peter's copies are the complete parts of two oratorios: Graun's *Tod Jesu* and Haydn's *Creation.* The parts to Graun's work were written out by Peter and Van Vleck in the 1770's. It is entirely possible and even probable that the work was performed completely before Peter left for Salem, in 1779. The parts are more worn than any others found in the Bethlehem library, and it seems that the work remained for decades the favorite choral work of the Moravians. On the parts for the *Creation,* Peter worked alone. This was his final homage to Haydn, whom he

had begun to esteem when Haydn was still rather unknown. The work was performed in 1811, probably with Peter at the organ. It was the first performance of the work in America, and it lived on in the memory of the Moravians as a high spot in the musical life of Bethlehem.[22]

Peter was 24 years old when he arrived in the Colonies. The idea of becoming a composer apparently had never struck him. But he soon felt that there was need of music for the Church, and he set out to fill some of the gaps himself. He began quite cautiously. First he wrote a modest solo in the manner of Dencke; then two duetti. The succeeding composition was probably for a chorus, but in three parts only. Then he wrote his first four-part choral piece in the unassuming style of a liturgy. All of these first attempts date from Peter's years at Nazareth. Perhaps he progressed in such a careful, almost systematic manner, because he was trying to build up a more efficient church choir; the result, in any case, was that he developed his own creative abilities at the same time. When he returned to Bethlehem, he was ready to compose anthems in concerted style; from then on he seems to have composed anthems rather steadily until a few months before his death.[23]

From 1770 to 1772, Gregor visited the American Provinces of the Moravian Church. We may assume that he advised Peter in musical matters, for, not long afterwards, Peter copied a number of compositions by Gregor, which Gregor himself seems to have handed or dispatched to him.[24]

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[22] See M. D. Herter Norton, *Haydn in America (before 1820)* in *Musical Quarterly*, 1932, pp. 309-337.

[23] A preliminary account of his life and work was given by Albert G. Rau in *John Frederick Peter*, an essay published in the *Musical Quarterly*, 1937, pp. 306-313. None of Peter's early compositions were known then.

Peter's first composition for Soprano, Strings, and organ, and a later composition of the same type, written at Salem shortly after his marriage, in 1786, are included in *Music of the Moravians in America*, no. 1. The nos. 2 to 8 of the same series contain seven anthems by Peter, including his last dated composition. The no. 9 contains his six string quintets.

[24] One of these works is the *Freuden-Music zum Friedens-Danck-Feste, 1763*, which appears erroneously in Oscar Sonneck's *Bibliography of Early Secular American Music*, Washington, 1905, p. 114, as a composition by Peter.

Peter's own compositions at first showed the influence of Gregor's example. But Peter was younger and more ingenious than Gregor. In Gregor's anthems, we usually find a certain stiffness and pedantry while Peter's display the new flexibility of style that was characteristic of the instrumental compositions he had copied in his youth. Certain minor impurities of his harmonic settings suggest that he was largely self-taught, but his was undoubtedly an original talent and a deeper natural comprehension of harmony than that displayed by any other Moravian composer. He must have been an efficient violinist as well as organist. His vocal parts are pleasing and expressive, but he was, like most of his German contemporaries, an instrumentalist at heart, and it is the eloquent brilliancy of his instrumental parts that give his compositions their characteristic flavor and lasting interest.

A clear development can be traced in Peter's works. At first he was timid and restricted in his means. As time went on, he acquired ease and a definite, reliable technique. After he came back from the Southern Province, he had more and more wind-instruments at his disposal; on one occasion his orchestra consisted of two flutes, two clarinets, two bassoons, two horns, two trumpets, timpani, strings, and obbligato organ. The possibilities of a larger orchestra induced him to write anthems of greater extension and of a more monumental character. Among them are a few splendid compositions, but he was, on the whole, not as successful in his larger compositions as in those of a more intimate style. The necessity of writing for the valveless trumpets of the time, which could play only the natural overtones, seems to have curbed his imagination, although he handled the horns, which likewise were valveless, without difficulty.

Most of Peter's later compositions were written out for two choral groups. The one was usually a four-part mixed chorus, the other a three-part chorus of high voices; the top and alto parts of the first chorus generally sang in unison with those of the second while the tenor of the first chorus sang in octaves with the second soprano of the second chorus. The first chorus probably was formed of men and married women, the second of "single Sisters", or unmarried girls—it seems that an originally stricter separation of the sexes on the choir loft had by then been relaxed only as far as the married women were concerned.

Musically Peter's arrangement restored, in a rather original manner, the balance of a chorus in which the women outnumbered the men and the tenors were scarce. That the Bethlehem choir could not muster more male singers may have been largely caused by the fact that the entire orchestra was provided by the Brethren.

While at Bethlehem, Peter wrote a few more anthems in smaller form and with fewer instruments in addition to the more ambitious pieces. In these seemingly modest anthems from his last period his creative work culminates. Rich in original traits and delicate details, they display a touching simplicity that seems to be a perfect expression of true devotion. They stand out even in the rather large and valuable literature of concerted church music by Moravian Brethren, and even today their charm and color have not faded.

Once, Peter entered the field of instrumental music as well: shortly before he left Salem, he wrote a set of six string quintets, for two violins, two violas, and violoncello. Apparently he had just five adequate players at his disposal, but not enough music in which they all could take part; thus he simply wrote a few works for them. The violinists for whom the quintets were written and one of the viola players must have been good instrumentalists, for their parts are quite brilliant and in places not easy. The violoncello part is comparatively simple, and the second viola carefully avoids difficulties. The whole set was composed in approximately six weeks.[25]

The quintets show, quite naturally, the definite influence of the works Peter had copied in Germany. They are the most freely conceived, most lively, and most entertaining among his compositions. They are melodious and abound in violinistic figures, whereas they make little use of the thematic development, the elaboration of short motives, which, passing from Philipp Emanuel Bach to Haydn and Mozart, was characteristic of the fully unfolded Classical style. With most pre-Classical compositions of their type they compare quite favorably. Within the American scene, they represent the earliest chamber-music works

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[25] The work is mentioned in Sonneck's *Bibliography of Early Secular American Music*, p. 136.

preserved and presumably the finest written in the eighteenth century.

Peter was a modest and pious man. His *Lebenslauf,* like that of most Moravian Brethren, gives an account of his religious experiences in addition to the strictly biographical notes. Music is mentioned in it but twice. In one place, Peter expresses his thanks to the Savior that he has been given the faculty to embellish with his musical talent the liturgy of the service and festival meetings of the congregation; from which he himself confesses to have derived many a blessed enjoyment in his heart. In the other place, he speaks about the temptation into which his musical talent had brought him, since he noticed that he was esteemed for it by the World and thus was secretly assailed; here again he praises the Savior who heeded his tearful confession and restored his tranquility of spirit through illness.[26]

The latter remark may have a special significance. Peter's quintets were secular compositions, and although the Moravians never objected to even the most brilliant use of instruments in the service of the Church or to the performance of instrumental works, the composition of worldly pieces probably was widely considered as not quite befitting a true servant of the Lord. Peter certainly wrote the quintets with love and conviction, but on second thought he may have agreed that only personal ambition could have induced him to write a work of that kind. He thought well enough of the quintets to take them with him when he returned to the Northern Province, but he never again wrote a piece of instrumental, secular music. The fact may be regretted, but if modesty and piety prevented him from adding more works to instrumental literature—it was the same spirit of modesty and piety that gave his sacred compositions the character of true church music. At that time, most European composers looked upon the composition of sacred music as a secondary task. They wrote music for the various churches in addition to the secular works upon which their main interest was focused, and accordingly their sacred works are rarely inspiring. The entire life of the Moravian Brethren, on the other hand, was devoted to the service of God. Peter in particular was gifted enough to express

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[26] Peter's *Lebenslauf* is preserved in manuscript at Bethlehem.

the sincerity of his devotion in music, and thus his sacred compositions became more appropriate and effective examples of their kind than most sacred compositions written at the same time in Europe.

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Johannes Herbst

The third outstanding composer among the Brethren in America—next to Dencke and Johann Friedrich Peter—was Johannes Herbst. Born at Kempten in 1735, he was educated at Herrnhut. Like many Moravians, he learned a craft, that of a watchmaker. He served the *Unitas Fratrum* in various capacities: as teacher, bookkeeper, minister, and warden. In 1786, he was called to this country. For a few years he served the congregation at Lancaster as minister. In 1791, he moved to Lititz where he spent two full decades. In 1811, he was consecrated a bishop of the Church and went to the Southern Province. He died at Salem in the following year, on January 15, 1812.

Herbst must have had a definite musical training. Among his manuscripts is an *Anleitung zum Generalbassspielen, besonders für Choralspieler,* a "manual for thorough-bass playing, especially for those who play chorales". He was probably not the author of this book, but either copied it from an original manuscript or made it up from lessons; certain remarks suggest Gregor as the author. Herbst used his knowledge of harmony to prepare a book of chorales in four-part open harmony, using Gregor's tunes and basses. This was an innovation, for Gregor's tunebook did not contain middle parts and Latrobe's provided four-part harmony for the organist, but not for a choir of voices or trombones. Up to the time of Herbst—and of Peter, who arranged a small number of chorales for chorus with instruments—the hymn-tunes apparently had been sung only in unison and octaves, while harmony was added by the organ.

Herbst collected anthems throughout his life. He invariably copied the pieces himself, using paper that remained of the same size and quality for decades. He compiled a considerable library in Europe and brought it with him when he came to America. He left the parts at Lititz, but took the scores to Salem, where

they form a still unexplored collection. When he arrived at Lititz, music was still in a rather primitive stage. In his efficient, systematic manner, he immediately started out to build up a more comprehensive church library. The choir of the Lititz church evidently was a well-trained group at that time, and this, too, probably was Herbst's personal accomplishment.

In his copies, Herbst at first did not care to indicate the names of the composers. He must have felt that, while the composition was a contribution to the worship of the Brethren, the individuality of the author did not count for anything. Such an attitude recalls the early Middle Ages when the names of the individual artists were not considered worth mentioning. Later, Herbst changed his point of view, probably because he learned through his own experience that composing was more than fulfilling a duty. Thus we find that in his later manuscripts he carefully named the composer of each piece of music he added to his library. But still, it was the text of a musical number that was important, not its author, and in the catalogue of the Lititz collection, which Herbst compiled in 1795 and regularly brought up to date afterwards, the pieces were arranged alphabetically according to the first words of the text, not according to composers. The same is true of all early catalogues made for use in the Pennsylvania Moravian settlements; one of these, which records the items belonging to the Nazareth community about 1800, does not even include the names of the composers.

Herbst himself began to compose anthems in 1767, or even earlier. His style developed considerably in the more than forty years covered by his compositions. A few of his European compositions are expressive and even audacious, but most of them are rather dull and uninteresting. At this time Herbst preferred to write short numbers with only a modest accompaniment of strings and organ. When he arrived in the States, he was a man of over fifty, and one might be inclined to suppose that by then his stylistic ideas would have been too firmly established to be susceptible of any considerable change. Strangely enough, Herbst's style underwent such a change, apparently under the influence of his new musical surroundings. Now he attempted larger forms, wrote more florid and independent parts for the strings, and added wind instruments to his orchestra. He himself

must have realized that he had acquired practically a new style; for he rewrote a few of his earlier works, elaborating particularly on the instrumental parts. Undoubtedly he composed his most fluent and accomplished music in his last years at Lititz. He lived only a few months after he left the Northern Province, and it is doubtful whether he did any composing at Salem.[27]

Herbst was not as interested in instrumental music as Peter. He did not compose any instrumental works, and among his copies is only a single instrumental composition, a piano sonata by Haydn. His compositions are, in general, less inspired and artistic than Dencke's or Peter's, and only very few of them could still be enjoyed. He was, we may say, a clergyman who wrote some compositions rather than a musician who served God through his music. For his time, however, he was an important figure. His compositions were known in Pennsylvania before he arrived himself. He furnished a composition for the dedication of the church at Lititz, in 1787, and one for the dedication of the church at Bethlehem, in 1806. Many of his cmpositions were copied for the Bethlehem library, and we may assume that his music was used more widely in the settlements than that of any other Moravian composer with the exception of Gregor. Peter's anthems were harder to sing and particularly to play than Herbst's, and thus their popularity apparently never equaled that of Herbst's plainer and more obvious compositions.

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Other Early Moravian Composers in Pennsylvania

As musical life expanded in the Pennsylvania settlements of the Moravians, an ever increasing number of compositions could be used and was needed. The material on hand was not sufficient, additional material not quickly or easily available. It was there-

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[27] Herbst is represented in the series *Music of the Moravians in America* by two compositions, a solo for soprano strings and organ, in no. 1, and one of the anthems of his last period, no. 10. The first probably was written between 1800 and 1806, the second in, or shortly before, 1810.

fore natural that whoever felt possessed of any musical talent tried his hand at furnishing some original music for the service of the Church. A splendid opportunity was thus provided; and this, we may say, was the contribution of Colonial conditions toward the development of musical creation in the Moravian settlements.

Dencke and Herbst underwent some musical training and entered the field of composition before they crossed the ocean. It may be doubted, however, whether either Simon or even Johann Friedrich Peter would ever have ventured to write music themselves, had not the situation in the colonies compelled them to do so. They were joined by a few other Moravian Brethren whom the opportunity made composers. Among them were Jacob Van Vleck, Johann Christian Till, George Godfrey Müller, and a few more at a later time. They all were only composers on occasion, and the output of most of them was small; yet their accomplishments were as varied as their personalities.

Van Vleck was the first American-born among the Moravian composers in Pennsylvania. He came from a Dutch family and was born at New York in 1751. He studied at Nazareth and then for a while at Barby. He returned from Europe in 1778 and became assistant pastor of the Bethlehem congregation. From 1790 to 1800, he was inspector of the Young Ladies' Seminary, which had been founded by Zinzendorf's daughter Benigna, in 1742, and later developed into the Moravian Seminary and College for Women. Then he served as inspector of Nazareth Hall, and successively as pastor at Nazareth, Lititz, and Salem. In 1815, he was consecrated a bishop of the Church and returned to Bethlehem, where he died in 1831.

Van Vleck, who played the violin as well as keyboard instruments, must have been a fine performer. The few compositions he left prove that he might have become a good composer too. He seems to have contributed considerably to the improvement of the *Collegium musicum* at Bethlehem. Eventually he wrote organ parts to anthems which were copied out by Nitschmann; he also collaborated with Peter when the latter worked on the parts for Graun's *Tod Jesu.* He was, however, too many-sided and important a personality to be allowed to devote much time

to music, and, particularly in his later life, music seems to have been fairly crowded out by his many other duties.

Till was American-born like Van Vleck, but his was a life full of misfortune and smacking of failure. Born at Gnadenthal, near Nazareth, in 1762, he was sent to school at Nazareth. Simon Peter noticed his musical inclination and gave him initial instruction. Then he worked at Bethlehem, as apprentice to the nail-smith, as carpenter in the oil mill, and finally as a teacher. While living at the Brethren's House, he formed a string quartet with other Brethren; later Van Vleck joined the group and trained it so well that it could dare to play in public. In 1786, Till went to Hope, New Jersey, as organist and schoolmaster, and then he served as *Hausdiener* (superintendent) at Christiansbrunn, a Brethren's House near Nazareth. In 1793, he returned to Hope and stayed there until the unsuccessful settlement was abandoned, in 1808. He moved to Bethlehem where he earned his living by making furniture; he also built pianos, together with his son. After Peter's death, he became organist of the Bethlehem congregation. He died in 1844, at the age of 82, having played the organ for more than 70 years.

Till was an odd and pitiable figure. His dream was to become a musician, but evidently he did not have sufficient training and was neither gifted nor strong-minded enough to perfect himself. His compositions are poor, and their quality seems to have decreased rather steadily. One of them exists in two versions; the earlier shows some sparks of invention and originality while in the later all interesting details are cut out in favor of commonplace regularity. Till added many items to the library of the Bethlehem *Collegium musicum* and at least doubled the library of the Bethlehem church. His taste was rather indiscriminate, but among his copies were works like Mozart's famous symphony in E-flat major and a cantata by Bach; Till copied the latter in the 1820's from the first edition of any such work published after Bach's death. When Till died, he left behind, too, a rather detailed and personal autobiography—a pathetic account of the hardships of life.

Georg Gottfried Müller — in later years he called himself George Godfrey—was born at Gross Hennersdorf near Herrnhut

in 1762. He came to America in 1784. He served in succession at Nazareth, Lititz, Bethlehem, a small settlement in Ohio, Philadelphia, and Newport, R. I. It seems that he spent a considerable number of years at Lititz. He retired to Lititz at the end of his life and died there in 1821.

Müller's compositions prove him to have been a musician of taste and genuine talent. He was a good violinist and the leader of the orchestra at the Brethren's House at Lititz. He was held in high esteem; once, when a distinguished guest arrived in his absence, a special messenger was sent all the way to Lancaster to call him back, and only after he had returned was the guest entertained with music. Evidently it was Müller who really brought the *Collegium musicum* at Lititz to life. For years, Herbst and Müller collaborated, and probably it was the contact with Müller, more than anything else, that caused the astonishing change of style in Herbst's last compositions.[28]

Among the Moravian composers of this period, there was also a man who was born in America, but left this continent in his youth, never to return: John Antes. He was the son of Henry Antes, an influential friend of the Brethren and later a member of the *Unitas Fratrum*. John was born at Fredericktown, Pa., in 1741. He went to Europe in 1760 and served for a number of years in Egypt. He was beaten there severely by a Bey who tried to extort money from him; the result was that he remained a cripple for the rest of his life. He then went to England where he died in 1811.

Antes is said to have made the personal acquaintance of Haydn. He composed a number of anthems which have melodic charm and a fine, fluent character. None of them seems to date from his American years, but they were copied and used in the settlements. Antes apparently was the only Moravian composer who had chamber music published. Recently an incomplete copy of his third opus was found. The title, with its faulty Italian and odd punctuation, is a curious illustration of international relations: *Tre Trii per due Violini and Violoncello, Obligato, Dedicati a Sua Exellenza G. J. de Heidenstam, Ambassatore de Sa Maj. il Ri de*

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[28] A composition by Müller for soprano, flutes, strings, and organ, is included in *Music of the Moravians in America*, no. 1.

Suede a Constantinopel. Composti a Grand Cairo dal Sigre Giovanni A-t-s, Dilettante Americano.[29]

Antes was most interested in musical mechanics. He is said to have built a complete string quartet; a violin labeled *John Antes in Bethlehem 1759* is preserved at the Museum of the Moravian Historical Society at Nazareth. During his years in England, Antes invented a machine enabling the musician to turn pages with the foot, without interrupting his playing. He furthermore suggested, in a letter to the editor of a German musical magazine, the application of the endless screw to the violin pegs, for more accurate tuning; an increase in the height of the point of the violin bow, to make greater variety in the tension of the hair possible; and the use of sponge or fungus, instead of the leather then employed, as an improvement of the piano hammer.[30]

Latrobe called correctness and simplicity the "two grand sources of beauty in the performance of Music." Correctness and simplicity seem to have been the highest aims of the Moravian composer as well. He wrote for choirs and orchestras that hardly ever counted professional musicians among their members; to be performed by such groups, the compositions were bound to be simple and straightforward. The music was presented, furthermore, in the service of the Church; it had to appeal to the whole congregation, to the entire mixed population of a settlement, not to a selected, sophisticated audience of concert-goers; thus its sincerity as well as its eloquence were immediately tested. Such conditions placed a definite restriction upon the composer; and that restriction probably was felt even more strongly in the Colonies than in Europe. It forced the composer to be direct

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[29] I am indebted to Dr. Carleton Sprague Smith, who first called my attention to the work. It was published by J. Bland, London, without date. The only copy known was acquired by the Sibley Memorial Library of the University of Rochester; unfortunately the first violin part is missing. No information about Antes' earlier publications could be found. One of his songs for soprano, strings, and organ has been reproduced in *Music of the Moravians in America*, no. 1, from a copy by Johann Friedrich Peter. See Sonneck, *op. cit.*, pp. 123 and 177.

[30] *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, Leipzig, vol. 3, 1800-1801, cols. 739-740; *ibid.* vol. 8, 1805-1806, cols. 657-662 and separate plate. See also Gerber, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, col. 123. Antes' *Lebenslauf* was printed in *Nachrichten aus der Brüder-Gemeine*, issue of 1845, vol. 1, pp. 249-295.

and natural; and this, in turn, became his greatest asset. If we review the American compositions by the Brethren to the beginning of the nineteenth century, we may find many a dry or awkward piece, but none where the ambition of the composer seems to win out over his modesty and better judgment. Much has been said in praise of Colonial architecture and furniture—it was a similar spirit that manifested itself, not less convincingly, in the early compositions written by Moravians in America.

8

David Moritz Michael and the Climax of Musical Activities in the Settlement

The last decade of the eighteenth century and the first of the nineteenth represent the great creative period of the Brethren in America; this was, at the same time, the golden age of the Moravian *Collegia musica.*

For many years, the difficulty of finding capable players must have been matched by that of providing musical material for their gatherings. Funds to buy printed editions or copies by professional copyists, such as publishers like Breitkopf sold, did not exist at first. The material Nitschmann possessed or provided was rather limited. The music Peter brought with him represented a most considerable addition. Thereafter music had to be borrowed from abroad or from friends in the States and copied. Whoever was able to write music fell to, and thus gradually a fine collection of symphonies as well as chamber-music works was brought together.

To judge from the copies preserved, the orchestra of the Bethlehem *Collegium musicum* in the 1790's was able to play symphonies by van Maldere and Carl Stamitz. Works by John Christian Bach, Haydn, Rosetti, and by other composers whose fame has faded away were at one time or another added to the repertoire. The orchestra must have been an impressive group. All these men had their church or school office, their trade or craft; and here they assembled, like the *Meistersinger* of olden times, to study and enjoy music. They were not backward in their taste or accomplishments: they played the newest and most diffi-

cult orchestral works written by their contemporaries. There was certainly no other group like this in the States then, and hardly any in Europe.

A new and final impulse came in 1795 with the arrival of David Moritz Michael. He was born at Kienhausen, near Erfurt, in 1795, and educated in Germany. He is remembered as an accomplished player on the violin and on almost any wind instrument; he is said to have amused friends by playing duets on two French horns simultaneously. He was familiar with the latest developments of continental music, and he was apparently an excellent teacher and inspiring leader. He went to Nazareth and almost immediately started the *Collegium musicum* on a new basis. The museum at Nazareth preserves a *Verzeichniss derer Musicalien welche im Concert sind gemacht worden,* a "list of the musical pieces that have been done in concert." This booklet contains an imposing series of programs, giving a full account of Michael's activity and the manner in which his example was followed in the years after his departure.

James Henry, in his *Sketches of Moravian Life and Character* describes the meetings of the *Collegium musicum* in his picturesque style:

"In the chapel of Nazareth Hall, the teachers and citizens were wont to assemble in the evenings, and rehearse many of the symphonies of Haydn and other composers, together with an excellent programme of chamber music, in trios, quartettes and quintettes, and when engaged in the symphony, they employed as full an orchestra as they could muster. Each virtuoso, on his own favorite instrument, from the violincello (!) to the kettle-drum, gave his whole soul to the subject, and if the performance, as a *tout-ensemble*, did not arrive at the proficiency of professed artists, they at least displayed the feeling, which is of the first requirements of music, and often redeems the deficiencies of skill."

About 1804, Michael was transferred to Bethlehem. Shortly afterwards the *Collegium musicum* was reorganized and assumed the name of Philharmonic Society. The new institution unfolded an astonishing activity. Concerts were given frequently; no admission was charged, but a collection was taken at the end. Between 1807 and 1819, 241 concerts took place; 28 alone in 1808 and 36 in 1809. The receipts amounted altogether to $301.73, averaging $1.30 for each concert. Hall, fuel, and light were provided by the community; thus the receipts sufficed, in a modest

way, to furnish instruments, strings, some printed music, and bindings for the more frequently used items.[31]

The most splendid event in the history of the Philharmonic Society was the performance of Haydn's *Creation.* Michael played the first violin. The work was repeated again and again in the course of the years. The *Seasons,* too, was performed at an early date and became the uncontested favorite of the Bethlehem populace. The symphonic repertoire was also steadily increased. Among the works procured before 1813 were symphonies by Paul Wranitzky, Friedrich Witt, Anton Eberl, Franz Krommer, and a certain J. C. Röhner; the last is represented by a single work that was at one time "the Principal Symphony or great Crack here in Bethlehem music".[32]

As a composer Michael was a minor figure. His anthems and sacred ariettas show little creative power and technical skill. He wrote, however, a number of compositions for wind instruments and thus created a new type of entertainment in the Moravian settlements. Michael composed, presumably in Europe, fourteen *Parthien,* or suites, for two clarinets, one or two bassoons, and two horns; a few of them require an additional flute or trumpet. These suites were copied out for Bethlehem as well as Lititz and apparently were performed at both places.[33] At Bethlehem, the Brethren played such pieces in the evening from the gallery of the Brethren's House or in the open; at Lititz they may have assembled near the spring where Tobias Hirte had first offered musical entertainment.

In 1808, Michael ventured to write a piece of program music for wind instruments, a kind of "water music", intended for a Whitmonday boat-ride on the Lehigh. Rufus A. Grider, in his *Music in Bethlehem,* gives a vivid account of the occasion:

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[31] The figures are taken from Grider's essay (see above p. 23), which gives a more detailed account of the history of the Philharmonic Society than that attempted here.

[32] Note by Rufus A. Grider on Peter's copy of the symphony; Grider's information came from Jedediah Weiss, prominent among the Bethlehem singers and a man of 77 years when Grider wrote the note, in 1873.

[33] Several of the suites are mentioned in Sonneck's *Bibliography of Early Secular American Music,* p. 113; however, we have no indication that any of them actually represent American items.

"The inhabitants assembled on the river bank, west of the old bridge, about 1 o'clock, P.M.; a large flat bottomed boat or *flat*, propelled by four men with long poles, and provided with seats and music stands, received the musicians. A procession was formed by those who intended to participate in the pleasures of the occasion. When all was in readiness, the boat started, the music began; the party moved up the Lehigh, accompanied by hundreds of listeners, enjoying the music, social concourse and delightful prospect. The scenes of that part of the Lehigh were truly beautiful; the banks were studded with buttonwood, oak, hickory, water-birch, and other trees whose graceful branches extended beyond, and dipped into the silent stream. Islands covered with vegetation, trees and shrubbery, whose shadows were reflected in the water, added to the attractions.

"The walk was level, bounded on the north by fruitful meadows, and cultivated fields and orchards, on rising ground; on the south by the river and adjacent mountains. The season of bloom then often at its height, the apple, peach, cherry and other trees, being then in full blossom, the meadows covered with violets, the river bank with honeysuckle, lupin, and other flowers. The party continued westward one mile, to an eddy caused by a turn of the river, forming a miniature whirlpool (called the deep hole). The poles no longer touched bottom, the water being too deep. The composer, poet like, supposed a case of great peril, caused the music to convey the idea of fear and terror; the boat was kept in the whirlpool long enough for the musicians to act out their part; when it emerged from the eddy into the placid stream, the sounds changed to lively airs and graceful melodies. The boat meanwhile glided with the current and the party wended their way homeward."

Michael's music has been preserved. It consists of three suites for two clarinets, two horns, and a single bassoon, entitled *Bey einer Quelle zu blasen,* "To be played by a spring." The bits of programmatic music mentioned by Grider are found in the third suite; it contains some of the best music Michael ever contrived, but even that can hardly be called interesting enough to warrant a revival.

In the following year, Michael again provided a water music. He now had two bassoons at his disposal; thus he wrote another set of suites, *Bestimmt zu einer Wasserfahrt auf der Lecha,* "Intended for a water ride on the Lehigh", and dedicated them to one of the bassoon players. No programmatic intentions appear in this work.[34]

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[34] Of the first water music, we have only a copy by Hannah Weber; of the second, however, Michael's holograph. Both items are included, as they deserve to be, in Sonneck's work; see *op. cit.*, pp. 145 and 163.

In 1814, the Brethren's House was given up, and Michael returned to Europe. He died at Neuwied in 1823 or 1825.

9

Later Moravian Composers in America

When Peter and Herbst had died and Michael had left the country, music in the Moravian settlements was bound to decline. For a long time, however, it was the quality rather than the extent of musical life that was impaired.

Before the passing of the musical leaders of the older generation, men like Johann Christian Bechler, Peter Ricksecker, and Peter Wolle had taken up composition. They, too, were but occasional composers.

Bechler was born on the island of Oesel in the Baltic Sea in 1784. He came to America in 1806 and became one of the professors at the newly founded theological seminary, which later developed into the Moravian College and Theological Seminary. Bechler served in various capacities at various places in the Northern Province till 1829 and then in the Southern Province till 1835. Consecrated a bishop of the Church, he returned to Europe, worked in the Russian settlements, and died at Herrnhut in 1857. He wrote modest ariettas that were not unattractive; long, heavily scored anthems that show a serious lack of imagination; and a few minor pieces for wind instruments.

Ricksecker was born at Bethlehem in 1791, attended the Seminary at Nazareth, served in Pennsylvania till 1826 and then as missionary in the West Indies. He retired in 1857 and died at Bethlehem in 1873. Among the Moravian composers in America, he was the least talented. His compositions include a *Battle of New Orleans,* a piece of rather naive program music for the pianoforte.

Wolle was born in the West Indies in 1792. In 1800, he entered Nazareth Hall and became one of the first students of the theological seminary. He served as minister at Lancaster, Philadelphia, and Lititz, and then became a bishop of the *Unitas Fratrum;* he died at Bethlehem in 1871. He seems to have been a pupil of Michael and later of Bechler. He had more imagination than

either of them, but he lacked daring, and only one of his compositions, an anthem for double chorus with instruments, stands comparison with the works of the older Brethren.[35]

However small the contribution of these men to truly interesting music may have been, they passed on the devout spirit of the old Moravian composers, and finally another real talent grew up among the American Moravians: Francis Florentine Hagen. He was born at Salem in 1815 and died at Lititz in 1909, after a long life in the service of the Church. Hagen wrote an extended choral cantata of juvenile character, but with ingenious details; a few anthems; and an overture for full orchestra. He also edited the *Church and Home Organist's Companion,* a somewhat promiscuous collection of popular pieces, arranged for the reed organ. Hagen had an unusually fine sense for distinguished popular melody. His early anthems included the *Morgenstern,* a lovely Christmas song that soon became extremely popular with the Moravians; his later anthems were written in a more modern, romantic style.[36]

The spirit in which the Moravian Brethren conceived their works was once finely expressed in words by Bechler. In 1809, Peter had sent one of his compositions to Bechler as a birthday present. The following year, Bechler reciprocated by sending one of his to Peter. Bechler accompanied the anthem with a letter, written in German, in which he asked his friend to accept his newest piece of work with love and to judge it with forbearance. "Everybody," he continued, "does as well as he can, and

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[35] It is reproduced in *Music of the Moravians in America,* no. 11. Wolle edited the *Moravian Tune Book Arranged for four voices with accompaniment for Organ and Piano.* Published in 1836, it was the first Moravian tune-book providing parts for a chorus and, at the same time, the first Moravian tune-book printed in America.

[36] The *Morning Star,* originally written to German words, is said to have been composed in 1842. The first version was for children's voices with organ accompaniment. A choral version was included in a later tune-book issued by the Moravians in America, *The Offices of Worship and Hymns with Tunes of the American Province of the Unitas Fratrum,* second ed., Bethlehem, 1872. A separate edition for chorus, with the original accompaniment, has been issued by G. Schirmer, New York, edited by the author of this paper. Another anthem of Hagen's early period is included in *Music of the Moravians in America,* no. 12.

praises and glorifies the Creator, who gave him his portion, however small it may be, by using it faithfully. I do not care what the learned critic would say about my blunderings if he had to judge them—for it is not for him that I write. If the congregation, to whose enlivenment, stimulation, and edification I should like to contribute, actually derives some such fruits through my compositions, I shall think I have accomplished more than if a critic praised me and the congregation did not enjoy hearing me."

10

The Musical Festival of Bethlehem

While the creation of music by American Moravians decreased and, on the whole, declined, musical life particularly at Bethlehem seemed richer than ever. The Philharmonic Society stood in the center of activities, but there were also bands and even a serenading club. They all joined forces in musical festivals that were, for many years, high spots in the life of the entire community.

The Bethlehem festival became newspaper news. The Philadelphia *United States Gazette for the Country* of Wednesday morning, June 20, 1832, published the following account of the most recent festival at Bethlehem.[37]

"As it is customary in some parts of Germany and England, to give annually a musical festival, the musicians of Bethlehem resolved to do the same this year, and Monday the 11th inst. was selected for that occasion.

"The musicians of Nazareth and the neighboring towns were invited to assist on the occasion, who kindly accepted the invitation.

"For several days previous all was preparation, and all day you could see the young ladies walking toward the Concert Hall, with baskets filled with flowers, greens, etc.

"At 9 o'clock the doors of the Concert Hall were thrown open, (a large hall capable of containing 600 persons) and in a very short time every seat was occupied by persons from far and near. The scene was truly interesting, the stage, walls, chandeliers—yes even the note stands of the musicians were beautifully decorated with flowers of every descrip-

[37] I have received the account through the courtesy of Dr. Bruce Carey to whom I should like to express my gratitude.

tion.—The heads and dresses of the female singers were also most tastefully decorated with flowers, truly representing flower girls, which corresponded most admirably to the decorations of the whole Hall. At the sides of the Hall the portraits of about 40 of the principal musicians of the old and new world were hung up, which added greatly, making the scene still more interesting. Amongst the performers was a celebrated violin player, a Mr. Kahn, from Sweden, who happened to be here on a visit.—He is really an excellent performer—his playing was highly extolled by those who understand music. A Mr. Lehman from Dresden, in Germany, was also here, and gave a concerto on the French horn, by which he gave evidence that he is a master on that difficult instrument. Mr. and Mrs. Anders, formerly of Berlin, were really at their places—the one at the piano, and the other as the prima donna of the singers. Several of her solos were excellent. At 10 o'clock, A.M., the performance commenced, and lasted until 12 o'clock; after which an adjournment took place. At 3 in the afternoon they commenced again, which lasted with the exception of a short interval, till 6 o'clock. At 8 in the evening, another meeting took place, and lasted till half past 9 o'clock.

"Most choice pieces were performed, selected for the occasion, composed by Haydn, Kuffner, Mozart, Bedhoven, Rode, Neukom, Neubauer, Schulz, Mehul, and others.

"At 10 in the evening the serenading party of Bethlehem, consisting of ten of the principal performers, were out, it being a beautiful moonlight night. They serenaded the strangers who happened to be here on a visit, and I believe at those houses where I thought some other attractions drew their attention. This, I presume, was in some measure the compensation for decorating the Hall.

"The whole town kept alive until 12 o'clock, and at one place (where, if I understand right, a young Philadelphia lady boards) the instruments were laid aside, and a beautiful vocal serenade was performed. After 12 everything got quiet, the music ceased, and thus ended this truly musical and interesting day.—Both strangers and inhabitants were so much delighted with the performances of the day, that the directors of the music kindly consented to give another grand musical festival in the fall of this year."

"A VISITOR"[38]

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[38] The editor of the *United States Gazette* was so much impressed with the report from Bethlehem that he prefaced it with the following note:

"We are indebted to an esteemed friend now at Bethlehem, for the following interesting account of a festival in that place. He will accept our thanks for his favor, and will, we think, receive those of our readers generally. The vocal serenade will excite some envy among our fair CITOYENNES, who have yet been only honored with the pipe and tabert, and the instruments of string; but we foresee that the Bethlehem

The festival was held annually and in the course of the years it became of such old standing—as James Henry, who has left us another delightful description of its features, remarks—"that it was regarded as a permanent institution, and if aught transpired to hinder its celebration, a cloud of disappointment seemed to cast its shadows over the public mind. The entertainment"—James continues—"lasted the whole day, and to the chronicler of medieval Bethlehem, it forms a bright point to look back upon. In addition to a well-selected programme, an oratorio was usually presented to the dilettanti, and among all these compositions, the selections from Hadyn and Mozart were ever the favorites."

Mozart's *Requiem* was performed on a special occasion in 1826. Among the oratorios given in the 1830's were Romberg's *Das Lied von der Glocke* and Löwe's *Siebenschläfer,* in addition to both the *Creation* and the *Seasons.* Later, Spohr's *Last Judgment* and Schumann's *The Paradise and the Peri* were taken up, sung apparently in English. At times, the interest in the Philharmonic Society lagged, however, and it had to be reorganized several times.

The symphony books of the period contain, as most interesting items, works by Carl Maria von Weber and Ludwig Spohr. There is also a set of early parts to Beethoven's Ninth Symphony; but whether and when a performance was attempted, we cannot tell. In the 1830's or early 1840's, a music teacher from Philadelphia, Charles Homann, wrote a symphony and dedicated it to the Philharmonic Society; the work represents one of the earliest symphonies written in this country, although it is not a particularly fine example of its type. It bears witness, in any case, to the efficiency of the body for which it was designed.

In the course of the nineteenth century, more and more people would take part in the performance of oratorios or orchestral

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serenade will be a precedent for the *cavaleros* of Philadelphia—and while the young, with delight, hide their night caps behind Venitian blinds, and

'Sit and let the sounds of music creep in their ears,'

some of us old codgers may catch the rheumatism in the night wind, and wish the musicians might 'hang in the air a thousand leagues hence.'

"We are sorry that we are not permitted to mention the name of the lady who was honored with the *vocal* salutation."

works. The orchestra of Bethlehem, in fact, increased so much that on one occasion it was advertised as the second largest in the country. As more and more people participated, the standards in the choice of music were gradually lowered. In the 1830's, opera overtures came into fashion. They were followed by opera potpourris, and if one looks through the music acquired later on, one finds piles and piles of cheap popular material.

But in the minds of the people, there still must have remained the memory of their great musical past, and new life was infused into a none too well kept tradition by John Frederick Wolle, a relative of Peter Wolle. During a short period of study in Germany, Wolle grasped the greatness of Bach. His life work culminated in the foundation of the Bach Choir which gave its first Bach Festival with a performance of the B Minor Mass in 1900. Wolle was a Moravian, and the Bach Festivals were at first held in the Central Moravian Church. But Bethlehem at the beginning of the twentieth century was no more a Moravian town, and the Bach Choir became the musical representation of the whole town, just as the Philharmonic Society had been when Bethlehem was still exclusively Moravian.[39]

The Moravian settlements in Pennsylvania, particularly Bethlehem, have the most enviable musical record of any towns in the United States. Even before they were founded, it is true, concerts had been held in cities like Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston, but there it was the traveling virtuoso who provided music for a paying audience. In the development of music at Bethlehem, Nazareth, and Lititz, the traveling virtuoso had no share—the people themselves provided and even created the music they needed or wanted. That was no mean technical accomplishment, and it was, in addition, the fulfilment of an almost Utopian ideal. The Moravian settlements had been planned and were led by practical men with a religious idea and artistic sense: they accomplished a wonderful union of religion and art, and the perfect saturation of daily life with music.

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[39] See Raymond Walters, *The Bethlehem Bach Choir*, Boston and New York, 1918 and 1923; and *Bach at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania*, by the same author, in *Musical Quarterly*, 1935, pp. 179-189.

Development of Music in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania

By Dr. Abert G. Rau

(An address delivered March, 1935, in the Moravian Sunday School Building, Bethlehem, Penna., on the occasion of an exhibition of various items of historical interest.)

My purpose in being here—I'd better get to it at once—is to give you a talk, without any formality, perhaps with no logical order, about the development of music in Bethlehem from the time the town was started. Now some of you have lived through the period of the Bach Choir since 1892, and some of you know all about it. That's a new story, well carried out, thoroughly known, thoroughly understood, and I needn't talk about that at all.

In many ways, of course, Dr. Wolle is the full accomplishment of a century or more of material and of people who went before him. And what I want to do this evening is to try to tell you something about the people who were his musical ancestors.

When the settlers came to Bethlehem in 1740, 1741, 1742, 1743, many of them were acquainted with the contemporary German musical expression. Many more were competent performers on instruments. And as our people kept a very definite record of all their actions at that time with reference to their church services, and also of their so-called municipal affairs, they constantly write, from year to year, of the way they gave expression to their musical art.

At a very early date we hear about singing. Not much more than a few times, we read about violins; at a little later day, about French horns and violins, together with flutes and oboes. Six years after the founding of the town, we find them playing concert music, talking about their violin players, and we see them performing symphonies. In fact, if you will look in the

collection in one of the alcoves on the second floor of this building (the Moravian Sunday school building), you will find a copy of a symphony that was performed in 1750, which, therefore, represents musical development quite unusual in America. If you will compare this with the South and its fiddling of dance tunes; if you will compare it with Philadelphia, where there was a little attempt at an old-fashined opera, made by using the music of Cinderella and then turning a play into an opera; you will have seen all the music there was in America. And even in 1770, as far as I know, the only serious composition is that of hymn tunes and a few songs by Hopkins of Philadelphia.

In 1747, a little orchestra, The Collegium Musicum, formed here in Bethlehem, was a group of people playing together for their own amusement and for the purpose of accompanying their services in the church. I know that they played Haydn at the time, because we have some of the Haydn selections, copied in Europe and brought over here. I have never found them in the catalogues, so they had been lost until found here in Bethlehem. I have been trying to carry them to experts to find out how many of those ten that we have are really new finds, and I imagine five or six of them may be. None of that copying is in Haydn's handwriting. We know who copied them, and we are sure we haven't any original copies.

The trombones were brought to Bethlehem in the middle of the decade 1750-60, and they were used for the first time here for the purpose of outdoor worship. Before this they used a combination of French horns and trumpets. And, when they wished to perform in the open air, they carried a bass fiddle on a strap.

From 1750 to 1770 the development of music in Bethlehem was slow. There was, however, a bit of composition here that I have not been able to show you. Not long ago we found some liturgy music composed in Bethlehem. Unfortunately, it is not very interesting and not the sort of music that I care to exhibit, although it is a sample of the sort of composition that lies behind our history.

In 1770 there came to Bethlehem from the other side a real musician, John Frederick Peter. Short of 30 years old, trained

in Germany as organist, violinist, flutist, and horn player, he had been taught composition, and he knew music, though he was not a professional musician.

Music was no vocation for any of those people. I suppose it was a devotion if you want to put it that way. When Peter got here he lived in Nazareth and then moved to Bethlehem, and at sundry times was the Accountant, the Secretary of Affairs, and the General Recorder.

From that time on, there was a distinct development in music life. I have upstairs in that collection a group of quintets written by this man, for two violins, two violas, and a bass violin; non-sacred music, extremely interesting. Sometime ago, I carried them to Philadelphia, and a group of men played them with a great deal of interest. They are compositions built on the style of the sonata; they are well worked out, and they have the style and the quality that the earlier works of Haydn had. They are perhaps not musical wonders, but even a Haydn is not always interesting either. But, on the other hand, Peter did some remarkable work for the music of church services during the time from 1770 to 1813, when he died almost on the organ bench. He composed, as far as I have been able to find out, forty-one anthems for church services. They are all carefully worked out in four or five parts, a few with solos. Some of you have heard them, for we have recently been reproducing them. Some of them are naive. Some of them are far beyond the spirit of their day. I can think of one, that in its austere severity leads one to think more of Beethoven than of Haydn. In fact, I know nothing by Haydn that resembles the anthem that we used in the services last evening, in which the bass descends in chromatics for almost an octave while the harmonies pass through almost every key until the end of that scale—a remarkable piece of modern anticipation. It is something that belongs to the days of Brahms. I assume that, while most of John Frederick Peter's compositions are based on Haydn and Steinmetz, he was also a student of Mozart. Among the collection, we have a complete edition for the orchestra of Mozart's G Minor Symphony written in 1796, which Peter copied.

Peter did not live in Bethlehem through the whole period.

About 1781 or 1782 he moved to some other Moravian settlements, and for some time lived in Salem, N. C. It may interest you to know that last summer in Winston-Salem, I found a great heap of the full scores of some of his anthems. Apparently, nobody copied the parts or used them. They were not sung until they were brought back to Bethlehem.

From 1790 to 1813, as nearly as I can make out, he composed 41 of those anthems. They were all very carefully marked as to the first occasion of use, and one of them was an anthem for the dedication of the new church building, in 1806.

Peter was a real musician, and he was the grandfather of all the musicians in Bethlehem, for he was the teacher of all who came after him.

John Christian Till, one of his pupils, was also a composer. You have heard some of his anthems. He had the technique of his teacher, but not his genius, and he had too rough and ready a method.

David Moritz Michael composed the water music, as it was called, a composition for two clarinets, two horns, two bassoons, and two flutes, which is supposed to be played on the water. They put a flat boat on the Lehigh amid carnival lights and decorated boats, and then played this music, while the whole town enjoyed it. We do things like that today, but we are not quite so simple about it. Moritz Michael, too, did not have the genius of Peter, and he lacked his harmonic variety. I have not found a composition by Peter after 1800 that has not at least some measures in it that are almost distinctly modern in every sense. He was surely born out of due time.

The other pupils of John Frederick Peter probably lived within the memory of some people who may be sitting here. Two belong to the Beckel family; two others belong to the Till family. One of them was a bishop of the church, Peter Wolle. Bishop Peter Wolle has left us his chorale book and a number of extremely interesting anthems.

In the days when there weren't any orchestras in America, from 1750 to 1820 consecutively, there was an orchestra in Bethlehem that performed several times each year. The receipts some-

times were as high as $7.00 a year! And with that they bought music and paid for copying it, and even purchased a pair of kettle drums, and a bass fiddle so tall that it takes a giant to play it. They bought, too, a serpent, the bass of the old bugle, an instrument with holes on the side and with a bone mouth piece. It has a tone worse even than that of the saxaphone. They bought also some bassoons, and John Antes manufactured a set of violins, two violins, a viola, and a cello. I knew the viola long ago, but somebody has since walked off with it. The violins have long since disappeared.

During the period from the coming of John Frederick Peter in 1770, until 1820, these old Bethlehemites performed a great many choral works besides the orchestral symphonies and quartets that they imported from Europe. In that list is the Passion of Graun, the Oratorio of David by Neukomm, the Messiah of Handel, and the Creation of Haydn. All of these works were copied laboriously by Peter from the full score in beautiful musical handwriting, and the last one he copied in 1810 and used it in 1811 for the first complete performance in America of the Creation, when that work was only four years old. As to the compositions of Johann Sebastian Bach, there has been found only one cantata, "A Mighty Fortress Is Our God". Whether they performed that or not, I have no means of knowing, though all the parts, both singing and orchestra, are there. They knew nothing of the Bach Mass or of the Passion, and, as far as I know, they sang no single parts from any of those works.

After 1820 music in Bethlehem went into the doldrums. Just as all Europe suffered a musical dislocation while it passed over into the romantic age, that is characterized by Wagner, so here the pupils of Peter became sentimental and trivial in their likes, and their musical efforts languished and in many cases died out. For some reason they lost the joy of doing something on the side. Music ceased to be a general avocation for everybody in the settlement when that settlemnt began to grow in size and cosmopolitanism. Consequently, when Dr. Wolle, far back in the eighties, began to lay the foundation for a wider appreciation of good music, he was planning a return to the old musical atmosphere of the town. This process is in the course of action, and

will be completely accomplished only when most of us return to music as a pleasure and cease buying it as a luxury.

It is very easy to buy the hearing of good music. You can purchase it on the radio or in the great cities for any price from 50c to $200.00. It is another thing to make it yourself and take part in it, and enjoy it for itself, and to make it a part of the social life of the community. That is what we are trying to do today. That is what we must do if this old tradition means anything.

Drawn by Carl E. Andrews.

INTERIOR OF THE FIRST MORAVIAN CHURCH,
PHILADELPHIA, PENNA.

Present Structure Erected 1892

History of the First Moravian Church, Philadelphia, Pa.

By Paul T. Warner

Chapter I

THE FOUNDING AND EARLY YEARS OF THE CONGREGATION 1742 - 1785

Pennsylvania, two-hundred years ago, was a small province, comprising the South-eastern portion of the State which now bears its name, and bounded on the west by the Susquehanna River and on the north by the Blue Mountains. All beyond—and much of the land within the province—was a wilderness.

Philadelphia, which had been founded by William Penn in 1682, was a town of about 13,000 inhabitants, with 1,500 houses. The most thickly settled portion was south of Market Street. Third Street, north of Race, was bounded by open lots; this section being known as the "North End." The unpaved streets—and there were many of them—were alternately dusty and miry; there were no such present day essentials as a municipal water supply, sewerage system, or lighting plant, and the town, judged by modern standards, would have been considered exceedingly primitive.

The inhabitants represented a variety of nationalities; there were English, French, Scotch, Irish, Germans, Swedes, Swiss, Dutch, Jews and Indians. Of religious denominations and sects there were also many. The majority of the Germans belonged to the Lutheran and Reformed churches; there were also Quakers, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, English and Swedish Lutherans, Dutch and Scotch Reformed, Baptists, Mennonites and sundry others. Zinzendorf said, "Pennsylvania is a complete Babel", while Spangenberg stated that "many thousands of its inhabitants cared so little for religion, that it became a common saying

in refernce to such who cared neither for God nor His Word, that they had the *Pennsylvania Religion.*"

It was no wonder that under these circumstances, Pennsylvania soon engaged the attention of the Moravians as a field for Missionary labor. In 1734, George Böhnisch arrived from Europe with a number of Schwenkfelders, who settled along the Skippack. In 1736, Spangenberg arrived from Georgia, where the Moravians had established a colony; and he was followed later in the same year by David Nitschmann, and the year after by George Neisser. As the settlement in Georgia proved a failure, Peter Böhler and other colonists came to Pennsylvania in April, 1740; and accepting a proposal of William Whitefield, they settled on a tract of land bought by him, in what was then the northern part of the State. The first house in the Moravian town of Nazareth was completed in June of that year; and in the following year (1741) the Moravians purchased a tract at the confluence of the Lehigh and the "Manakasy", where Bethlehem was soon to rise.

Late in 1741, Count Zinzendorf* arrived in America from Europe, and after a brief stay in New York, he reached Philadelphia on December 10. His desire was to unite all Protestant Christians under one banner, and to further this he described himself simply as "Brother Lewis of Thürnstein," using one of his lesser titles. On Christmas Eve, 1741, he gave Bethlehem its name, with the idea that it should be a station for missionaries as well as the home of a Moravian congregation. Zinzendorf early became acquainted with Henry Antes, a pious member of the German Reformed Church, who invited him to attend a synod or religious conference, which met at Germantown on January 12, 1742. The meeting place was Theobald Endt's house on Germantown Avenue, and Zinzendorf was elected Moderator. There were 25 following synods, during the next six years, which lasted two or three days each; they were strictly undenominational, and were well attended.

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* Nicholas Lewis von Zinzendorf was born in Dresden on May 26, 1700. His father, George Lewis, Count Zinzendorf, was a premier of the Court of Saxony, and a member of the Lutheran Church, into which Nicholas Lewis was baptized. While still a young man, he provided a

In the later synods there were less and less representatives of other denominations, so that these convocations assumed more and more a distinctly Moravian character. The 26th Synod, which met in Bethlehem October 13, 1748, was the first to be called as a Synod of the Brethren; and the numbering of regular Moravian Synods in America began with it.

During the first half of 1742, Zinzendorf preached frequently at Germantown, Oley, Falkner's Swamp and other places, gathering small flocks which were later to form the nuclei of Moravian "preaching places." He also preached in a barn on Arch Street below Fifth, which had been rented for worship by the German Reformed and Lutheran congregations jointly.

On May 4, 1742, a school for girls was opened in Germantown, Pa., with 25 pupils. The Countess Benigna von Zinzendorf and Anna Nitschmann were teachers. This school, which was later moved to Bethlehem, marked the beginning of what is now the Moravian Seminary and College for Women.

On May 30, 1742, Zinzendorf was called by the Lutherans of Philadelphia to be their pastor. He accepted the call, but he had many engagements and was exceedingly anxious to visit the Indians. He accordingly associated with himself John C. Pyrlaeus, a student of theology from Saxony, who had immigrated to America in 1740 and had been ordained a Presbyter of the Moravian Church. On July 29, 1742, while conducting a service, Pyrlaeus was set upon by ruffians, who dragged him from the pulpit and ejected him. This created a great sensation; and on his return

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haven for Moravian refugees from Bohemia and Moravia, on his estate in Saxony, where Herrnhut was founded in 1722. Here the renewed Church of the Brethren had its beginnings; and so interested did Zinzendorf become in its activities, that he was ordained a minister of the Moravian Church in 1734, and in 1737 was consecrated a Bishop. He came to America in the fall of 1741. and was instrumental in establishing Moravian Congregations in Bethlehem and Philadelphia. He died on May 9, 1760, on his estate at Berthelsdorf, and was buried at Herrnhut.

Zinzendorf had certain peculiarities and his character and work have been subjected to much criticism. He was, however, a strong leader, and was most generous in the use of his wealth and talents; and no one individual was more instrumental in the establishment of the Moravian church in North America.

to Philadelphia, Zinzendorf determined to establish a separate church for the Moravians, who were evidently not on the most amicable terms with their Lutheran fellow-worshippers. Accordingly he purchased, from William Allen, a wealthy merchant, a lot on Race Street, and out of his private means erected the first Moravian house of worship in Philadelphia. The corner stone was laid on September 10, 1742, and the building was consecrated by Zinzendorf on November 25 following. It is for this reason that the First Moravian Church of Philadelphia considers November of each year to be its anniversary month. The organization was finally effected on January 1 ,1743, as a Moravian Congregation with 34 members. These included German friends who had left the Lutherans in consequence of Pyrlaeus's ejection, and a number of English Moravians who had arrived in June, first been assigned to Nazareth, and then transferred to Philadelphia.

In Abraham Ritter's classic, "History of the Moravian Church in Philadelphia," we have a detailed description of the first building used by the Congregation. It was situated on a lot fronting on Race Street between Second and Third and extending along an "Avenue" which ran south to Arch Street. This "Avenue" became known as Moravian Alley, and was subsequently named Bread Street.

The lot had a width of 35 feet on Race Street and 102 feet on Moravian Alley.

In order to allow sufficient room for a parsonage, to be erected subsequently, the church building was set back about 35 feet from Race Street, and it extended 45 feet on Moravian Alley. It was about 20 feet high to the eaves, and was surmounted by a "broken pitch or hip roof, about ten feet to the peak or upper ridge" (Ritter). The building was on the east side of Moravian Alley and it had a width of 30 feet fronting on Race Street, leaving a space of five feet back of it, to the edge of the lot. This was done for a purpose, because the sexes were separated in their sittings, and it was necessary to provide two entrances. The sisters' door was at the south end of the building, facing Moravian Alley; while that for the brethren was at the north end of the opposite side, access to it being obtained via the five-foot space in the rear. The walls were of hard red brick, interspersed with glazed black headers, and the structure was substantially built.

THE ORIGINAL MORAVIAN CHURCH OF 1742.

From "History of the Moravian Church in Philadelphia", Abraham Ritter.

The main audience room, on the ground floor, was 30 feet wide and 45 feet long, and had a height of about 20 feet. The pulpit was placed on a low platform on the west side, and a gallery surrounded the other three sides of the room. In the center of the gallery, directly opposite the pulpit, was a small organ with five stops; it had gilt pipes in front, and other ornamental features. On the main floor were 20 benches, ten for each sex, each bench being about ten feet long. The benches had arms at the ends, but the only backs provided were "top rails".

The room was lighted by candles set in tin holders, which were placed on the posts under the gallery, and also by a brass sconce —so called—which was hung from the center of the ceiling. This sconce had a central bulb, with six ornamental, curved branches, in which candles were mounted. Several of these branches are still in existence.

The upper room, under the hip-roof, was known as "The Hall." It was reached by a narrow stairway from the gallery, and also by an entrance from the attic of the parsonage (after that building was completed). The hall, having rather cramped window space, was dimly lighted at the best, and was very simply furnished. It was regarded as a special sanctum, and was used for Communion Services, Love-feast Services, the ceremony of washing the feet, and other special observances.

The first Diary of the church, covering the period January 1, 1743 to June 15, 1745, is a thin volume, the pages of which measure 7¾ by 12¼ inches in size. It is written in English script, but is at times difficult to read, as the writing is small and crowded; a surprising amount of information being presented on one page. It is impossible to tell who wrote it as there are no signatures, but several persons undoubtedly participated. The English is at times peculiar; abbreviations are frequently used, and the use of the long "s" is conspicuous. The Diary gives a vivid picture of life in the church at that time, and it is most interesting to read it.

While the church at Race Street and Moravian Alley was the headquarters of the congregation, there were several other preaching places; and there are referencs to keeping services at "the Ridge", Neshammony, Maidenhead, Trent-Town and other

locations in the vicinity of the city. A number of persons were engaged in this work, and there are frequent references to the Brethren Boehler, Bruce, Evans, Rice, Yarrel, Oakley, Pezold, and others, all of whom participated.

The beginning was a modest one, at least in point of numbers. The entry for January 1, 1743, reads in part as follows:

"Bro. Lewis* (the Breth'n & Sisters who were to compose the Congregation being gathered together) came & sung that Hymn, 'Most Worthy Spirit Guide of Jesus' Train,' &c., & having spoke some words, in English, of ye Weight & Importance of a Congregation, & that ye Lamb had gathered them together to ye end he might make them such, he blessed them all singly in the Name of the Lord by Laying on of Hands, as likewise Anna Nitchman, on the Sisters."

The entry for January 7 records that "We had two Love-feasts for the Breth'n & Sisters, in order to settle them in regular Bands"; and it is further stated that on the next day, "We had our Congregational Qu'r of an Hour for ye 1st Time. The Number of Brethren taken into Bands at this Time were 15, & of the Sisters 21. The Congregation was 17 in number, 11 Breth'n & 6 Sisters."*

There were soon indications of growth. Thus, on January 24 "Our Breth'n & Sisters had a Love Feast to the Number of 40 & which was much Bless'd to us."

The service known as the "Quarter-of-an-Hour", which was inaugurated almost immediately after the congregation was organized, is constantly mentioned in the Diary. There are also frequent references to Love-feasts, which were usually held for certain Bands in the congregation. At times such a service would be specially held to celebrate the birthday of one of the members. There are also occasional references to the ceremony of feet-washing. The reception of a new member was always specially noted, and was accompanied by fervent preaching and prayers.

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* Count Zinzendorf. Shortly thereafter he returned to Europe, sailing from New York on Jan. 20, 1743.

* Statistics, as given in the old accounts, are sometimes inconsistent. The same is true of the spelling of proper names.

INTERIOR OF THE MORAVIAN CHURCH OF 1742.

From "History of the Moravian Church in Philadelphia", Abraham Ritter

INTERIOR OF "THE HALL" OF THE MORAVIAN CHURCH OF 1742.

From "History of the Moravian Church in Philadelphia", Abraham Ritter.

At times a member who had wandered off, or had been disciplined, would be re-admitted.

The members of the congregation were apparently bound together by close ties, and some of the meetings were very exclusive,—but visitors were evidently present at times. Thus, referring to the service on the evening of March 24, 1743, it is stated that "2 Presbyterian Ministers were present, & a Popish Priest."

The congregation evidently kept in close touch with the church at Bethlehem, to which there were frequent references in the diary. Traveling back and forth, however, was something of an undertaking. Thus, under date of April 18, 1743, we read: "This Morning at 4 Bro. Boehlor set out for Bethlehem;" and on October 26, "Sister Sally Robins (who had broke her Collar Bone in the Journey to Bethlehem) return'd from thence this morning."

There is no special reference to a Christmas celebration in 1743, but on December 31 was held "our General Meeting", which was kept by Bro. Boehlor. Letters and reports were presented, giving accounts of the work of the Church in various localities at home and in Europe. The day was concluded "with great Blessing on all present." On the next day—January 1, 1744—in the afternoon, the Brethren and Sisters had a Lovefeast, at which the work of the previous year was reviewed. The record states: "We felt the presence of the Lamb amongst us, & parted not without his Blessing on all our Hearts." It is also recorded that on January 25, there was a very impressive and blessed celebration of the Holy Communion.

Our history is now entering upon what is known as the "sifting time", when an unfortunate sentimentalism pervaded the services and practices of the church. This is clearly reflected in the entries made in the diary. Thus, under date of March 1, 1744, it is recorded that "Bro. Rice Preach'd in ye Evening on these Words *"Christ Dieth no more"* & our Sav'rs Spirit Stirr'd up a Sweet feeling of his Blood in our hearts thereby, we had afterwards ye 1/4 of an hour for those who go to ye Lord's Supper & ye Kiss of Love, which was Sweet & Weighty to us." Entries similar in character occur frequently, and in one of them certain

persons who had returned safely from a journey are referred to as "little worms". It was apparently considered a virtue to belittle what we believe to be God's noblest creation.

During this period, the Congregation had several visits from Bishop Augustus Gottlieb Spangenberg.* He was, next to Count Zinzendorf, the most forceful character in the church at that time; a man of deep spirituality, a fine organizer, and possessed of great mental and physical endurance. Referring to one of his visits, we read under date of March 2, 1745; "This Night came to Town our very Dear Br. Spangenberg with B'r H. Antes, but They came to town late & thinking us all to be gone to Bed, we saw them not till morning." It is evident that the young congregation relied greatly upon Bro. Spangenberg's sound advice and good judgment.

Singing was of course a notable feature of the services, and this was particularly true of Love-feasts and other special occasions. There are frequent references to the hymn book, but in practically every case hymns are designated, not by numbers, but by the pages on which they were printed. When letters were read at a "general meeting", or certain individuals were mentioned at a conference, a hymn was often sung for each person. "Verses" were at times composed on the spot, to suit the occasion. Great fervor was manifested at times; thus under date of

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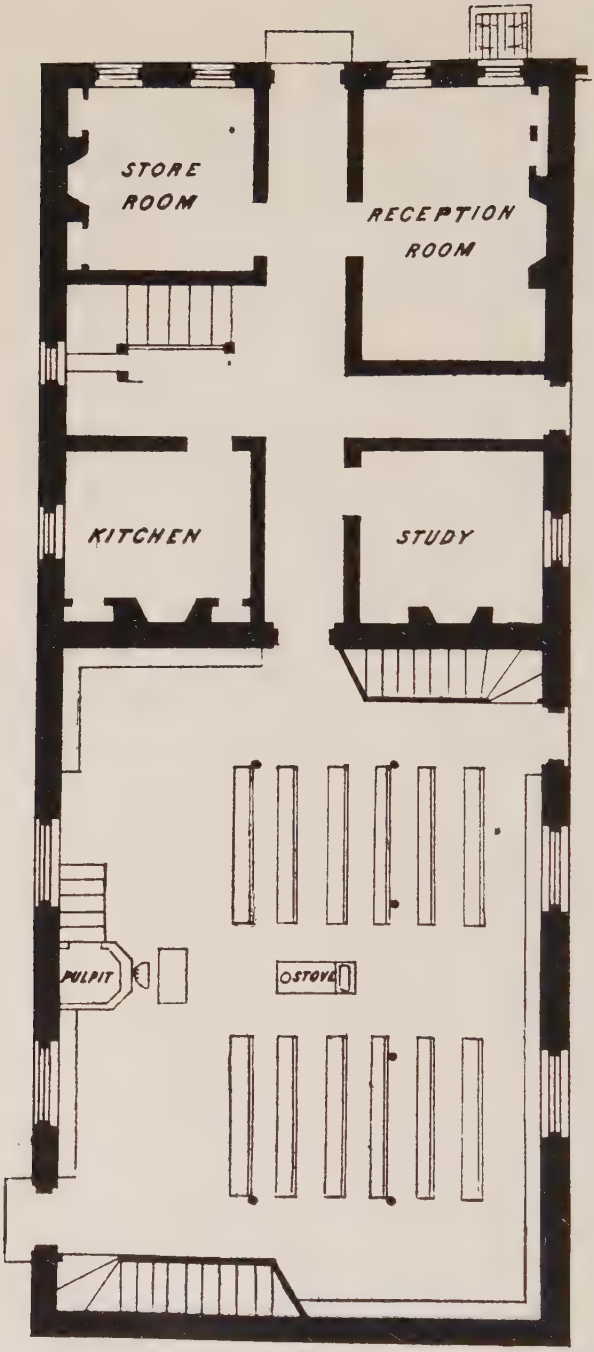
* August Gottlieb Spangenberg was born at Klettenburg, Prussia, on July 15, 1704. He was the son of a Lutheran Minister. He studied theology at the University of Jena. At Halle, where he was later a Professor, he became acquainted with Count Zinzendorf. In 1733, he joined Zinzendorf at Herrnhut, and during the years 1735-1744 he visited Copenhagen, London, Georgia and Pennsylvania. He was consecrated a Bishop of the Brethren's Church in 1744, and took up his residence at Bethlehem, Pa., on November 30 of that year. He supervised the work of the Moravians over a wide area, which extended as far as Wachovia, North Carolina. He was called to London in 1749, but returned to America in 1751; finally leaving for Europe in 1762. He died on September 18, 1792, in his 89th year, and was buried at Herrnhut.

Bishop Spangenberg, highly educated, yet of "primitive piety and patriarchal simplicity" (Latrobe) was a commanding figure during the early years of the renewed Brethren's Church. The success of the work in Philadelphia was due, in no small measure, to his intelligent guidance and supervision.

THE ORIGINAL MORAVIAN CHURCH AND PARSONAGE OF 1746.

From "History of the Moravian Church in Philadelphia", Abraham Ritter.



GROUND PLAN OF THE CHURCH AND PARSONAGE OF 1746.

From "History of the Moravian Church in Philadelphia", Abraham Ritter.

June 2, 1745, we read: "In ye afternoon ye Single B'n. had a Lovefeast. The Sav'r gave a Sweetness thereto, Jno. & Joseph Moore were Particularly Lively & Joyfull at it."

The diary records that on July 6, 1745, Bro. Spangenberg's birthday was celebrated by a Love-feast in the "Garret" of the church. Both the Germans and English were present, and they sang alternate stanzas of the hymns in their respective languages. Fervent prayers were offered for a number who were on journeys.

Under date of July 14, 1745, we find this curious entry: "This afternoon at 6 o'clock a great Thunder Clap struck on a sudden upon Mr. Gilbert Tennent just when he was a going to preach and flung him to the Ground, hurted his Leg, burned shoe and stocking and melted one of his Shoe Buckles, broke down the Chimney and a great Deal of his China, but he came to himself again. We took it to be a particular Warning against one of our great Enemies." He was evidently an individual who was opposing the work of the Moravians.

In 1746, a parsonage, or congregation-house, was built, adjoining the church and fronting on Race Street. The diary, under date of June 30 of that year states: "To Day ye Brn. began to Dig out ye Foundation of ye House by ye Church." The building was 30 feet wide by 35 feet deep, and it had a broken-pitch roof conforming to that of the church. The main entrance, on Race Street, was in the center of the building; a hallway ran directly through the building and communicated at the rear, with the interior of the church, by means of a small doorway provided for the convenience of the minister. On the ground floor were the reception room, or minister's parlor; the minister's study; the family living room, and the kitchen. On the second floor were five or six small sleeping apartments, and the attic was divided in a similar manner. On this floor was a passage-way leading from the head of the stairs to a door which provided an entrance for the sisters, when services were held in "The Hall", or upper room of the church. The building was arranged to house not only the minister and his family, but also the missionaries who served preaching places in the neighborhood of the city. The pastor was also expected to entertain visiting ministers and missionaries. Such hospitality was provided without cost; it was

not elaborate, but the visitors were welcomed and made as comfortable as possible.

Under date of May 1, 1746, the diary records: "This Evening we read ye Litany for ye first time in our Congregation, with a Sweet Blessing."

In 1747 there was an unfortunate misunderstanding between the German group in the congregation, led by Pastor Reutz, and the English group, led by Pastor Yarrel. The English accused the Germans of exercising too strict discipline, while the Germans maintained that the English were proud and desired to become rich, and that they favored carnal liberty and other fundamental sins. Bishop Spangenberg finally came from Bethlehem and handled the situation with his becoming vigor; a few left the church, but the remainder made mutual concessions and were soon more closely united. Services were conducted alternately in German and English until 1817, when—as will be noted later—the use of the German language was finally discontinued.

Prior to the year 1785 it is difficult to trace the history of the congregation in detail, as there was no governing committee or board that kept a systematic account of the church's activities. The old diaries, of which there are several, are written largely in German script, and much of the English—where that language was used—is almost illegible. The influence of the "sifting time", in the old records, is most apparent, but by 1750, extreme sentimentalism shows signs of disappearing. The doctrines held by the brethren were evidently subject to attack, and at times there was more or less disorder at the services, which were usually well attended. There were frequent visitors from other churches; thus under date of January 10, 1748, we read: "At the night meeting the new Romish priest was present with some more of his persuasion, who all behaved very still & attentive." There are many references to the ceremony of foot washing, in which only members of the congregation participated. The same was apparently true of the Holy Communion. Meetings for the children were held at frequent intervals, and it is interesting to note how much attention was given to the spiritual life of the young members. Fifty or sixty children were at times present at these meetings.

The diaries covering the period prior to 1785 contain constant references to the texts on which the sermons were based, and to the hymns sung at the services. There are long accounts of the experiences and spiritual problems of individual members, young and old. There are also frequent references to the sick, and it is evident that there was much illness (including smallpox) at times. A visit to Bethlehem was apparently a most blessed experience. Such visits were often paid by the members of the Philadelphia Church, and we find statements to the effect that "the wagon departed for Bethlehem", or "the wagon returned from Bethlehem", which would imply that the Moravians had a vehicle of their own for the purpose of maintaining communication between the two congregations.

Various brethren had charge of the work at Philadelphia, several of them usually serving simumltaneously and preaching, not only in the city, but at a number of out-lying points. From 1774 to 1784, Daniel Sydrick had charge of the congregation alone, with the assistance and advice of the authorities in Bethlehem who visited the church from time to time. As will shortly be pointed out, it was not until 1785 that there was a definite organization to guide the work of the congregation and keep a systematic record of what was done.

From the time of its organization up to 1757, the church had no burial-ground of its own. Those who passed away were interred in various grounds in the city, either by courtesy or contract. In 1757, however, a lot was purchased in the "Northern Liberties" at what—after the streets were graded—was the northwest corner of Vine and Franklin Streets. This lot was of course primarily intended for communicant members of the church; but others who were more or less associated with its work, but were not actually enrolled as members, were at times interred.

In the early days, prior to a funeral, an individual known as the "inviter" went about from door to door, announcing the interment to the church members and inviting them to be present. He also preceded the funeral procession to the burying ground, and for his services he received the remuneration of $1.00. The grave digger was another important functionary, who received $3.00 for each grave that he opened.

Until the present plot in Ivy Hill Cemetery was acquired by the congregation in 1885, the burying ground was a constant source of expense and concern to the church authorities, and the church records contain frequent references to the difficulty of properly maintaining it.

Chapter II

PROGRESS UNDER THE STANDING COMMITTEE 1785 - 1848

In 1785 an organization was effeted by the appointment of a "Standing Committee" which was to have charge of the affairs of the Congregation. This Committee was apparently appointed by the Brethren Adam Grube and Jacob Fries, who were then serving as ministers, or "labourers", as they were described at the time and for many years thereafter. The Committee was composed of the following eight brethren:—

Adam Goose	George Senneff
George Schlosser	Conrad Gerhardt
John Peter	Godfrey Haga
John Cornman	Thomas Bartow

Conrad Gerhardt was appointed Treasurer, George Schlosser Collector of the Sustentation Fund, and Thomas Bartow Clerk and General Accountant.

This Committee inaugurated the practice of keeping minutes of all its meetings; so that from June 5, 1785, down to the present time, there is a complete record of the official transactions of the Committees and Boards who were directly responsible for managing the affairs of the Congregation.

Bro. Jacob Fries apparently resigned as a "labourer" shortly after the organization of 1785 took place, while Bro. Grube remained for a year longer. In the meantime, Bro. John Meder was appointed a labourer, and he continued in that office until 1799. He was, from all accounts, a conscientious and devoted servant of God and he had a successful pastorate.

The minutes of the Committee contain many interesting items which throw light on the problems confronting the Congregation at that time. The question of appropriate church music was evidently causing some concern, for in the minutes dated September 2, 1786, we read: "Bro. Meder is requested to speak to the Organist respecting playing the Organ too loud & the Tunes too merry on Sunday mornings also respect the too loud singing in the meetings from the Organ Gallery." It was also apparently becoming increasingly difficult to get the Committee members together on week-day evenings, and early in 1794 it was decided to meet every fourth Sunday afternoon at the close of the English preaching service. About a year later this was changed to every fourth Saturday evening.

The members of the congregation—as is frequently the case, especially in comparatively small groups—were evidently inclined to be rather clannish and inhospitable. Thus under date of May 25, 1794, the minutes state that "due order is wanting in our publick meetings, respecting strangers coming in, that civility is not sufficiently shown them in making room on the benches; whereupon, the committee resolved that they would use their utmost endeavors in being exemplary in this particular, also that Bro. Meder mention and recomend the same to our Society and Congregation members at their next meeting."

It is interesting to note that in the spring of 1794 a communication was received from the Elders Conference at Nazareth and Schoeneck, soliciting a contribution toward the building of a "Meeting House" in Schoeneck. A collection, subsequently taken, amounted to £12 - 4 - 4½. The First Church in Philadelphia therefore had a part in the building of the picturesque stone church at Schoeneck, which was a notable feature of the landscape for many years, until it was torn down to make way for a larger and more modern—but externally, far less attractive—structure.

The Philadelphia Congregation had now been worshipping, for nearly 52 years, in a building which was apparently provided with no means for artificially heating it. Finally on October 12, 1794, it was agreed that a "ten-plated stove" be purchased for heating the building. The Brethren Hager and Smallwood were

appointed to "have the charge thereof". The financial expenditure for this improvement was recorded as follows:—

I ten-plate stove	£3	—	15	—	0
Furnishing the same	2		12		6
42 feet of pipe, at 19 d.	3		6		6
One cord of wood; hauling and sawing	3		10		7
	13	—	4	—	7
Abated on account			2		0
	13	—	2	—	7

This was, at that time, equivalent to approximately $35.00.

The stove was placed on the floor of the main audience room, in the middle of the aisle; and the pipe ran back from it, under the gallery girder, and thence out of a window and into the yard. Doubtless the results were beneficial, but we have no definite statement as to the extent to which the comfort of the congregation was increased by this valuable improvement.

Early in 1795, consternation was created due to the fact that certain members of the Moravian Congregation in another locality had allied themselves with a new political organization known as Democrats. We mention this, not because of any political preference, but because it illustrates the extent to which the church fathers were concerned regarding the every-day conduct of the members.

In May, 1797, the old church organ, which was in bad condition, was sold to the stewards of the Union Church in Whitehall, Northampton County, for £50; and a new organ was purchased from Peter Kurtz, of Philadelphia, for £105. The expense of installing and tuning this instrument was £8 - 9 - 3. Subscriptions were taken by the members of the congregation for meeting the deficiency.

Late in 1799, Bro. Meder accepted a call to New York, and Bro. John F. Früauff was appointed to succeed him. He, in turn, was called to Nazareth in June, 1803, and was succeeded by Bro. Joseph Zaeslein. The minutes of the Committee, during Bro. Früauff's pastorate, indicate that efforts were being made to reduce expenses, even the Lovefeasts being considered as a pos-

sible means of so doing. Thus, on December 17, 1802, the Committee "took into consideration the high price of cakes, paid hithertoo, and expr'ssed a Desire that the same might in future be obtained at a cheaper rate in Order that the Expense of a Lovefeast be thereby lessened.

"Resolved, that Bro. Frank make inquiry whether the Cakes for Lovefeasts could be obtained at a cheaper rate, say a penny a piece."

Up to the year 1803, there had been no systematic method of compensating the minister; he receiving such funds as were available. On June 14 of that year, however, the Committee decided that "a sum of Three hundred Dollars, including the cost of Firewood, maid's wages, Clothing, &c. be paid to the Labourers of this Congregation in quarterly Payments per annum." This was not a large amount, but it represented far more purchasing power than the same sum would today; and it marked an important step in systematizing the method of carrying on the church's activities.

Problems connected with the maintenance and management of the grave-yard were frequently mentioned in the minutes, and were apparently causing the Standing Committee much concern. The question as to who was entitled to burial also presented a problem, as there were members of the congregation who seldom entered the church or gave it support, but who expected to be accorded that privilege. Finally on November 10, 1806, the Committee passed a lengthy preamble and resolution, to the effect that such persons could *not,* in the future, anticipate the privilege of burial in the church plot.

With continued growth in membership, and the expanding of the church's activities, the old church building, which had served as a house of worship for over 60 years, was becoming entirely inadequate to meet the needs of the congregation. The question of building a new church was considered for more than ten years, during which period there were several changes in the pastorate. Nothing definite was done until 1818, when it was decided to tear down the old church and build a new one on the same site. This was accomplished during the pastorate of the Rev. Henry Van Vleck, who had begun his work as "labourer" in August 1817.

He was greatly beloved by the congregation and the church was prospering under his leadership. This was undoubtedly due in part to the fact that, shortly before his installation, the use of the German language at certain services was finally discontinued, and all services were conducted in English. This eliminated what had, at times, been a cause for wrangling and misunderstanding.

Although the parsonage was almost as old as the church, it was decided to let it stand, and to build the new church back of it, across two contiguous lots owned by the congregation. While this work was in progress, the congregation worshipped in the Academy of the English Lutheran Association, on Fourth Street below Arch; while private meetings, the Holy Communion, and other special services, were held in the attic of the old parsonage. The organ was placed at the south-east corner of this room, where there was a window; and therefore the instrument, as recorded in Ritter's history, "was made available as the accompaniment to the sacred song below, during the performance of the ceremony of laying the corner-stone of the new church edifice; the effect of which was both interesting and very acceptable." This historic event occurred on May 12, 1819.

The new church was consecrated on December 12, 1819. Bishop Hüffel, of the Provincial Helpers' Conference, was unable to be present, but he sent the proper credentials to Bro. Van Vleck, who presided at the ceremonies. Three services were held—at 10:00 a.m., and at 3:00 and 6:30 p.m.—and the Rev. Mr. Cruze of the English Lutheran Church, and Dr. Helmuth, of the German Lutheran Church, took part by invitation of the Moravian pastor.

The new building measured 53 by 44 feet in plan, and while it was an improvement over the old church, it was evidently severely plain in its furnishings and appointments. In fact, Abraham Ritter, in his classic history, described it with anything but enthusiasm. In the minutes of the Standing Committee dated January 25, 1820, it was stated that the church had been insured for $2,500.

It should be noted, at this point, that in 1818 Thomas C. Lüders had been elected a member of the Committee. This is interesting because for many years thereafter various members of the Lüders family took a prominent part in the work and activities of the congregation.

THE MORAVIAN CHURCH OF 1819.
The Second Structure.

From "History of the Moravian Church in Philadelphia", Abraham Ritter.

On May 3, 1821 there was issued a Report, from the Officers and Managers, to the "Sunday School Society of the United Brethren's Church at Philadelphia." A copy of this report, which is in the form of a four-page folder, is on file in the Moravian Archives at Bethlehem. It is signed by William H. Van Vleck, President; Jacob Ritter, Jun., Treasurer and John W. Peters, Secretary; and it carries the names of ten members of the congregation, both men and women, who were "Managers". Systematic religious instruction of the children in the congregation had been carried on for many years, and the Society was evidently organized to make such instruction more effective and comprehensive and to conduct the work in accordance with the most approved methods of the times. The School was organized, with certain modifications, in accordance with the plan laid down by the "Sunday and Adult School Union of Philadelphia". Instruction was given "in the Alphabet, in Spelling, in Reading, in committing to memory selected portions of the Scriptures, Hymns and Catechism." The children, it was stated, had taken kindly to the program.

In connection with this report, we note that Bro. George Ritter, one of the managers, had according to the minutes of the Standing Committee, been appointed "Chief Chappel Servant to attend to the Church generally, wash, clean, Light, Keep up the fires, &c."—for all of which he "is to be compensated with Fifty Dollars per annum of which the Clerk is directed to give him notice."

In the spring of 1821, Bro. Van Vleck had an interesting correspondence with Bishop Hüffel, who was then President of the Provincial Helpers' Conference, with reference to a proposed system of regulations for the government of church members and the information of applicants for membership. In the course of this correspondence Bishop Hüffel sent Bro. Van Vleck a copy of the Brotherly Agreement, with the recommendation that it not only be read at times to the congregation, but also be offered for signature to all male adult members. The Brotherly Agreement had been originally adopted in 1781 and had been revised in 1807, and a second revision had just been made. The outcome was that 500 copies of a pamphlet containing the Brotherly

Agreement as then recently amended, together with information regarding the general government of the church and the "external regulations" of the congregation, were printed and distributed to members and applicants.

We may mention here that applicants for communicant membership in the congregation were usually put on probation for a period of six months, and were carefully interviewed by the minister and also by members of the Standing Committee before being received.

In November, 1822, Bro. Van Vleck announced that he had received a call to Nazareth, and that he considered it his duty to accept. The Brethren Samuel Reinke and John G. Herman served the congregation until April, 1826, when the Rev. Peter Wolle, who had been stationed at Lancaster, was installed as pastor. He served the congregation for more than ten years and was honored and beloved by the entire membership.

Shortly before Bro. Wolle was installed as pastor, a new organ was placed in the church. It was built by E. N. Scherr, and its cost was $1,000.00 plus the old organ. Subsequent to its completion, Mr. Scherr maintained that he had lost heavily on the contract, and felt that he should be further compensated. Accordingly on the day when the new organ was consecrated, the collection, amounting to $56.15 was donated to Mr. Scherr, together with $144.00 as appropriated by the Committee, thus giving the organ builder an additional $200.00 which in part made up for his losses.

On July 2, 1826, Bishop Hüffel met with the Standing Committee and congratulated them "on the apparently prosperous state of the Congregation under their charge." He also recommended the establishment of a day school, but this plan was soon abandoned.

In the spring of 1827 it was decided to tear down the parsonage, which was 80 years old and much in need of repairs, and replace it with a new building, which would be 20 feet wide instead of 30, thus giving a better view of the church. The expense, estimated at $2,000.00, was to be covered by a loan. The new parsonage was built, but the debt incurred was a burden on the congregation for some years to come.

An important member of the Standing Committee was the individual appointed "Collector", one of whose duties was to visit members who were in arrears, and to collect their subscriptions—if possible. In the summer of 1830, Bro. I. W. Peters, who held this office, passed away; and the minutes of the Committee meeting, dated August 2, included the following statement:—"As it was considered that the walk was rather extended for one collector, many society members living in opposite extremes of the town, it was proposed and agreed that two collectors be appointed, one to collect North and the other South of Market St., and Br. T. C. Lüders and Br. George Esler were appointed accordingly—those brethren accepted the trust."

Apparently the scattered condition of the congregation was becoming a matter of concern, even at that early date.

With the growth of the city, street traffic was evidently increasing; for in the summer of 1831, there were complaints because of the noise of vehicles passing through the alley west of the church while Sunday services were being held. Accordingly, by order of the Standing Committee, "Brs. Jordan & Ritter Jr. were requested to make gentle expostulation to those causing the disturbance, in the hope that the evil may thereby be moderated." At the Committee meeting held November 31, the two brethren stated that they had "expostulated" with good results, as the "annoyance had diminished in consequence."

In May, 1834, it was proposed that an election for members of the Standing Committee be held every two years, "as is customary in the Brethren's Congregation." Accordingly on June 6 the entire Committee resigned, and the election was held ten days later, the polls being open from 9:00 to 12:00 A.M. and from 2:00 to 5:00 P.M. A meeting of the congregation was held in the evening to learn the result; 59 votes were cast, and the Brethren John Jordan, John Binns, Abraham Ritter, Thomas C. Lüders, Valentine Hent and Charles L. Bute were declared elected.

Bro. Jordan had served with the Committee since 1803 and had held the office of Steward since 1815. In January 1836, he found it necessary to resign the Stewardship because of failing health. Appropriate resolutions of appreciation were adopted by

the Committee at the time of his resignation. The incident is noted here in view of the valued service rendered the church by members of the Jordan family, especially in connection with financial matters.

On October 3, 1836, Bro. Wolle announced that he had accepted a call to the pastorate of the Lititz congregation, and that Bro. David Bigler—who had been serving as a missionary in Antigua, B. W. I.—had been called to the Philadelphia church. Bro. Wolle preached his "valedictory discourse"—so referred to in the minutes of the Committee—on November 13, and left for Lititz, via Lancaster, on the 22; thus closing a highly successful pastorate.

Church finances were now causing concern; in July, 1837, the Treasurer reported that his funds were nearly exhausted, and notice was given, on two successive Sundays, that a Committee would sit at the parsonage on the 17th and 18th days of the month "to receive the contributions due or becoming due to the sustentation a/c". It was also proposed, at a meeting of the Standing Committee, that the "Sunday penny contribution boxes" be removed from the door-posts of the church, and the method used in other churches be adopted, of "*offering* the boxes to the people by persons duly appointed." Definite action on this change, however, was deferred for the time being.

As the year 1837 drew to a close, it was necessary to plan for the Annual Business Meeting of the Congregation, which was to be held early in January. Formerly it had been the custom to hold this meeting, and also a Love-feast, on the same evening; but for the previous four years, the Love-feast had been held on New Year's Eve and the business meeting about a week later. Since making the change, however, the attendance at the business meetings had been falling off, and—according to the minutes of the Committee—"the general interest of the Cong. seemed . . . materially to decline." It was accordingly decided to again combine the two meetings, holding the Love-feast at 7:00 P.M. on January 8, 1838; the business meeting to follow. "Strangers tickets" for the Love-feast, to the number of 50, were to be issued. The plan worked well; a large congregation was present, and the business meeting, which proved unusually interesting, adjourned at 9:00 P.M.

The minutes of the Standing Committee, during this period, contain frequent references to the activities of the "Female Mite Society". There was also a "Male Auxiliary Society", but it, apparently, was of secondary importance.

On Sunday, July 29, 1838, a special collection was taken for the relief of members of the congregation at Lititz, where a disastrous fire had occurred on the 16th. Five houses, three stables and a shop were destroyed and six families were rendered homeless. The collection amounted to $40.00.

As at present, one of the problems which concerned the church authorities was the collecting of dues and subscriptions from members who were in arrears. Monday, October 22, 1838, was one of the days appointed for the collectors to sit at the parsonage for the purpose of receiving unpaid contributions. The collectors were then "to make their usual tour amongst the delinquents after the sitting for the purpose of collecting as far as practicable *all* the arrears of the Sustentation fund." Let us hope their efforts were successful!

The inadequacy of the existing church building, because of its rather obscure location and its poor equipment, was the subject of much discussion during 1839; and on April 23 of that year, a joint meeting of the Standing Committee with members of the Female Mite Society and the Male Auxiliary Society, was held to consider the matter. A committee consisting of the Brethren Binns, Worrel and A. Ritter was appointed to investigate the question further, and with power to call a subsequent meeting whenever necessary. The question of securing the lot at Franklin and Wood Streets, adjoining the burying ground was considered; and it was proposed that the lot should be exchanged for the existing church property. This plan, however, the owners declined to accept, and the matter was dropped—for the time being.

Prior to holding the New Year's Lovefeast, it was decided to serve *coffee* at such services thereafter instead of *chocolate*. This was done partly "with an eye to economy", and also to reduce the labor required.

Depleted church finances now made it essential that something be done to increase the revenue, and the question of passing the

collection boxes to the congregation was again discussed by the Standing Committee. In the minutes of the meeting of January 3, 1840, we read: "This or some other measure seems absolutely necessary to keep up our finances or remind the congregation effectually that the church cannot be sustained upon the manifest indifference to the modest petition of the silent and stationary Church Boxes, at either side of the door, as well as that, but too evident, in the tardy or wholly neglected payments to the Sustentation fund, either or both of which might be materially aided by adopting the active operation of *presenting* the box."

A few days later, at a meeting of the congregation, it was decided by a large majority, that the boxes be "handed around and through the Congregation for the better purpose of aiding the funds of the Steward and in place of the boxes at the door posts." At this same meeting there was presented a report of the Standing Committee which, in view of its length and flowery diction, was certainly a remarkable document.

The preamble to this report reads as follows:—

"The Standing Com. of the U. B. C.* most affectionately and respectfully greet the Cong. here present, to whom having thus presented the a/cs & statement of their labours of the past year, beg leave to remark upon the respective Documents, especially as relative to the finances of our Church, & this they do as matter of expediency of Duty & of necessity. It has been the practice of your Com. for the several years last past, to offer their explanations, to make known their wants, & to solicit the attention of the members of this church to the particular state of affairs & especially our finances through the medium of our extemporaneious address, the effect of which however has fallen so far short of what might have been expected, that to them it has seemed *almost* labour in vain. If in our several appeals, we had cherished aught but the *dearest interests* of our church, we might yield submissively to the nature of the response, or could there be traced any self-aggrandizing motive in the bosom of a single individual in whom you have reposed the fullest confidence for the performance of the important temporal duties of the church, they might and

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* United Brethren's Church.

surely they ought to kiss the chastening rod of your indifference, bow to the dust & cry unclean! unclean! This allusion cannot be easily mistaken by any who have regarded the items of debit, just made known & to which your Com. now beg reference.''

In December, 1840, the pastor suggested that the Church Litany should be used thereafter every Sunday morning. It may be assumed from this, that previous to that time the use of the Litany had been intermittent. After some discussion on the part of the Standing Committee, the question ''was referred back to Bro. Bigler, with authority to proceed as he may deem most advisable after consultation with the Bishop thereon.''

On May 27, 1841, the lot at the rear of the church property (No. 98 on Delaware Second St. between Arch and Race Sts.) was purchased at public sale, for $10,050. It was subject to a mortgage of $4,000. Bro. Abraham Ritter was authorized to borrow, by mortgage on the church property, a sufficient amount to complete the payment.

Early in 1842 Bro. George Ritter was re-appointed Collector for the Sustentation Fund, and we read in the minutes of the Standing Committee that ''hereafter it shall be his duty in all cases to call upon the contributors and solicit from them their subscriptions to the fund above mentioned, and it was further agreed to allow him 5 per ct as remuneration for his services, on all monies collected and paid over by him to the Treasurer.'' But about two weeks later it was ''communicated to the Committee'' that Bro. George Esler would be willing to assume the duties of Collector without remuneration, and it was therefore decided to ask Bro. Ritter to resign—which he subsequently did.

In the summer of 1842, Br. Bigler announced that he had received a call from the Provincial Helpers' Conference to serve as Pastor of the New York Congregation, and that Rev. Henry A. Schultz, of Salem, N. C., had been called to Philadelphia. This occasioned some lengthy and very formal correspondence between the Standing Committee and the authorities at Bethlehem. Br. Bigler ''delivered his valedictory discourse'' on the morning of September 18, 1842, and administered the Holy Communion in the afternoon of the same day. His pastorate had been a successful one; the church was crowded, and the Standing Committee

passed elaborate resolutions expressing their appreciation of his services.

The Love-feasts were evidently becoming something of a problem, due to a lack of appreciation of their true meaning on the part of certain persons who attended them. Shortly after the installation of Bro. Schultz, it was decided to hold a Love-feast on New Year's Eve at 7:00 o'clock; that no person *whatever* should be admitted without a ticket, and that not more than 30 tickets for strangers should be issued, those to be given by the pastor "to such persons as he may think qualified for the enjoyment of the ancient and sacred festival of our Church." It was also decided that thereafter, *chocolate* should be served instead of *coffee.*

In January, 1843, the Female Mite Society addressed a communication to the Standing Committee, stating their desire to finance the installation of gas lighting in the church in place of the oil lamps then in use. The Standing Committee "expressed their gratification", and appointed a committee to co-operate. The new lights were installed in February, at a cost of $140.00.

In the following summer Bro. Schultz advised the Standing Committee that he had been appointed, under the lot, Principal of the Young Ladies Seminary at Bethlehem. This marked the beginning of a lengthy correspondence between the Standing Committee and the Provincial Helpers' Conference, regarding a new pastor. Owing to the difficulties encountered in making satisfactory arrangements, Bro. Schultz remained in Philadelphia until the spring of 1844, when Bro. William Benade, son of Bishop Andrew Benade, was accepted as pastor "ad interim". A few months later, it was found that the temporary pastor was expounding the doctrines of Emanuel Swedenborg, and resolutions condemning his preaching were drawn up by 13 prominent members of the congregation. The result was that he was promptly dismissed; but shortly thereafter his place was taken by the Rev. Emanuel M. Rondthaler, Jr., who had received and had accepted a call to the pastorate.

It is interesting to note that in February, 1845, the Standing Committee passed a resolution that upon every Communion Sunday an offering be taken for the poor of the congregation. This is still the practice in our church.

In the Summer of 1846, the Female Mite Society proposed and offered "to introduce the hydrant water into the premises adjoining the church now in the occupancy of Mr. Ingram." The installation of this hydrant, which was apparently considered a great improvement, would deprive the said Mr. Ingram of "the right of way through the gate of the church yard." The tenant consenting, the hydrant was duly installed; at an expense, which was assumed by the Mite Society, of $50.40.

In August, 1846, a new set of "Rules and Regulations" was adopted by the Standing Committee. The Rules specified the various officers and committees to be appointed, and the duties of each. The offices of "Steward" and "Treasurer", which had previously been separate, were combined in one individual known as the "Steward or Treasurer". The Pastor was the regular Chairman of the Committee; but if purely temporal business was to be transacted, he was at liberty to retire, and the Committee then appointed one of its members temporary chairman.

On December 10, 1846, on motion of Bro. George Esler, it was decided to make application to the congregation, at the next Annual Meeting, for permission to apply to the proper authorities for an act of incorporation for the church and congregation. This was the beginning of a movement which was approved by the congregation, and which was finally consummated in 1848.

Chapter III

THE CHURCH INCORPORATED
THE EVENTS OF 1848-1892

In February, 1848, the Church was incorporated, the name of the corporation being "The Elders of the First Moravian Church in the City of Philadelphia and Commonwealth of Pennsylvania." The Elders who signed the original charter were George Esler, Frederick Wilhelm, Th. W. Jones, A. B. Renshaw, A. Leimer and John Binns. The first meeting of the new Corporation was held at the parsonage on March 9, at 7:30 p.m.; those

present being the Brethren Leimer, Wilhelm, Jones, Renshaw, and the Pastor, the Rev. E. M. Rondthaler, Jr.

At the meeting of the Board held on April 13, it was decided to hold the Easter Love-feast of the Congregation on the evening of Easter Monday at 7:45 p.m. It was further decided to distribute 50 "strangers tickets", and the Brethren George Esler and George Ritter were appointed a committee on distribution. The Committee was "to Sit the Saturday previous between the hours of 1/2 past 3, to 6 o'clock p.m." The Love-feast was regarded primarily as a congregational service, and the practice of restricting the number of strangers who were permitted to attend it, was continued for many years.

In the fall of 1848, the Pastor was stricken with fever, and he passed away late in November. The Board prepared an obituary notice which was inserted in the *North American* and the *Public Ledger.*

For some weeks following the death of the Rev. E. M. Rondthaler, Jr., the pulpit was occupied by the Rev. Edward Reichel, who served as temporary pastor. Early in 1849 the Rev. Edward Rondthaler, a brother of the late pastor, was called to the church; the Provincial Helpers' Conference issuing the call after having submitted the question to the lot. We may not approve, in these days, of such a method of solving a difficult problem; but it was undoubtedly used, at that time, in all faith and sincerity.

In the minutes of the meeting of December 6, 1849, we read: "Bro. Rondthaler also stated the request of two of the young brethren of the church to have permission granted to form a choir, whereupon it was resolved, that any part of the congregation who should prepare themselves to sing suitable pieces on any of our festive occasions should be permitted to perform them if approved by the pastor."

During the early years of the 1850's the most serious problem confronting the congregation was that of moving the church to a new location. The old church was inconvenient, and no longer adequate for the needs of the congregation. On December 2, 1851, a meeting of the congregation was held for the special purpose of considering this question; and at the Board meeting held on December 6, Bro. Chas. M. S. Leslie was authorized to advertise

the church property for sale, and to ascertain at what price the property at the north line of the graveyard could be purchased. He was also authorized to make inquiry concerning any other lot that he might consider suitable as a site for the new church. At this same meeting, the Brethren Williams, Renshaw and Cregar were appointed a committee to obtain a draft for a new church to cost not more than $10,000. Such a draft was prepared by Bro. John C. Trautwine, a well-known Civil Engineer and a member of the congregation; and was accepted by the Board at a meeting held on January 10, 1852. The plan was described in the minutes of the meeting as "very beautiful", and the thanks of the Board and the entire congregation were extended to Bro. Trautwine. There were, however, many delays before the erection of the building was finally started; for it was not until April, 1853, that the location at the southwest corner of Franklin and Wood Streets, adjoining the graveyard, was finally selected. The price paid for the property was $7,500. Francis Jordan was treasurer of the church at that time, and the successful financing of this transaction was largely due to the cooperation of the Jordan family.

On June 1, 1853, the pastor stated that he had received and had accepted a call to serve as Inspector of Nazareth Hall. This presented a difficult problem, as the church was about to move to a new location and strong and competent leadership was essential to the success of the venture. The Provincial Helpers' Conference suggested a minister who was then available, but who, as shortly became evident, was not acceptable to the majority of the members of the Board. Accordingly, on June 7, 1853, a letter, which was surprising because of its length and its exceedingly deferential tone, was addressed to the Provincial Helpers' Conference. In this letter the Board declined to accept the suggested brother, but requested that the Rev. Edmund A. de Schweinitz, who was then pastor of the church at Lebanon, Pa., be called to the pastorate of the First Church. About two weeks later it was definitely learned that he had received and had accepted the call.

It is interesting to note that the salary of the new pastor was fixed at $600.00 per annum, together with his fuel and house rent. He took charge of the congregation in August, 1853. He was a

fine organizer and a forceful preacher, and was fully qualified to lead the Congregation through the difficult period which it was facing.

On March 7, 1854, the old church at Race and Bread Streets was sold, at public sale, for the sum of $16,000.00; half cash and the remainder secured by a mortgage on the property. Arrangements were made to hold services in the Whitefield Chapel, until the new church should be available. This chapel was an undenominational house of worship, which had been built in 1740, presumably for the accommodation of the Rev. George Whitefield. It was located on the west side of Fourth Street, below Arch Street.

At a meeting of the Board held on August 20, Bro. Abraham Ritter was authorized to sell the church organ "at any price not less than $700.00."

It was not until early in 1855 that the plan for the new church, previously prepared by Bro. John C. Trautwine, was finally approved and construction was actually begun. The cornerstone was laid on April 30; the building was practically finished by the end of the year, and January 27, 1856, was the date set for the consecration of the new church. In the meantime the pastor, the Rev. Edmund de Schweinitz, had been chosen by lot to serve as professor at the Theological Seminary to be located at Nazareth. The minutes of the meeting of June 4, 1855, state that "The Board believing this appointment to have been made under the direction of our Divine Master, bowed with humble submission to his will." But with the new church under construction, and heavy financial obligations to be met, it was an unfortunate time for making such a change. This was fully realized by the Provincial Elders' Conference; and it was therefore decided that Bro. de Schweinitz should continue as pastor of the First Church, and be granted assistance in his work as Professor of Theology at the Seminary. To facilitate this arrangement, the four theological students who were then attending the Seminary, lived at the parsonage at 91 Wood Street, Philadelphia, from August 20, 1855, to July 7, 1856. These students were Henry T. Bachman (who was later consecrated a Bishop), Albert L. Oerter, Samuel Huebner and Owen Rice, Jr., all members of well known Moravian families.

THE MORAVIAN CHURCH OF 1856.
The Third Structure

Abraham Ritter's "History of the Moravian Church in Philadelphia" contains a flowery description of the new church at Franklin and Wood Streets. The building, fronting on Franklin Street, had a width of 55 feet, and a depth of 80 feet on Wood Street. It was a two-story structure, rectangular in plan. On the first floor was the Sunday School room, which was used also as a lecture room. In the rear of this room, on the north side, was the minister's room; and on the south side, as described by Ritter, "an apartment for 'love-feast' arrangements, and other appurtenant conveniences to the services of the church." The auditorium, on the second floor, was entered from a vestibule, through two doors, each opening on an aisle. There was one central block of pews, and a block adjacent the wall on each side; but there was no middle aisle. The pulpit was placed on a platform about three feet in height, and in front of it, on a low platform, were the communion table and baptismal font.

At the opposite end of the church was the organ gallery. The organ was designed under the direction of Bro. Abraham Ritter; it was built by J. C. B. Standbridge, and was "executed", according to Bro. Ritter, "by Mr. Edmund Durang as architect." It was a two-manual organ; and that it was well designed and built is proved by the fact that it is still doing excellent service in the present church. Bro. Ritter was naturally exceedingly proud of this instrument and his book contains a very colorful description of it.

At the meeting of January 22, 1856, the members of the Board were concerned with arrangements for the consecration of the new church; and plans were made for entertaining various ministers and musicians who were to be present. In view of the names mentioned, the following arrangements may be of interest. The list is as given in the minutes of the Board meeting.

Bro. Shultz	to stay at Br. Cregar's
" P. Wolle	" " " Br. Bute's
" Jacobson	" " " " Wilhelm's
" Hagen	" " " Mr. Leed's
Brn. Weiss & Roepper	" " " Br. Jordan's
" H. J. Bishop & A. Rauch	" " " " Renshaw's
" C. F. & Lewis F. Beckel	" " " Mrs. Bell's

The Church was consecrated on the morning of Sunday, January 27, 1856. In spite of the fact that snow was falling, the building was crowded to the doors, and many were turned away because of lack of room. Four members of the Bethlehem trombone choir opened the service with a chorale, and this was followed by the Te Deum, led by Bishop Jacobson. The words of consecration were pronounced by Bishop Wolle, and the sermon was preached by the Rev. Henry Schultz, a former pastor, his text being "The Glory of the Lord filled the House" (II Chronicles 5:14).

At the afternoon service, held at 3:30, the Church was again filled to overflowing. Several ministers of other denominations took part, and the sermon was preached by the Rev. F. F. Hagen, pastor of the Moravian Church at York, Pa. There was a third service in the evening, which is recorded by the Pastor, the Rev. Edmund de Schweinitz, as having been "very well attended." He adds in his notes, "The collections taken up were very small. In every other respect, the day was one of unmitigated joy and happiness."

At the meeting of February 7, 1856, a vote of thanks was extended to Grace Church Choir, the Bethlehem Trombone Choir, and Bro. Wilhelm and his choir, for their part in the consecration of the church; and also to the trustees of the Whitefield Chapel for the use of their hall during the past two years.

At the Board meeting held on March 6, 1856, in reference to a coming Communion Service, it was "Resolved, that it be recommended to the congregation to discontinue the custom of kissing and substitute the right hand of fellowship. Bro. A. Ritter requested his name to be recorded against this change." It should be noted that it was the custom, at that time, for the sexes to sit apart when communing.

The completion of the new church was followed by a period of financial stringency, and in February 1858, the pastor was authorized to collect $2,200 in order to liquidate the floating debt. At a meeting of the Board held on May 6, he reported that $2,000 of this amount had been subscribed. The Board, excepting one member, thereupon pledged themselves to complete the amount, and the minister was authorized to announce the "gratifying result" from the pulpit.

INTERIOR OF THE MORAVIAN CHURCH OF 1856.

ORGAN GALLERY, THE MORAVIAN CHURCH OF 1856.

It is interesting to note some of the salaries and expense items in effect during the late 1850's. "Young Brother Ostricher", who was engaged "to blow the bellows of the organ", received $15.00 per annum, and the organist was "empowered to have the organ kept in order, at an annual expense of not more than $30.00." The sexton's salary was fixed at $120.00 per annum, and in 1857 the house at 1020 Wallace St. was rented for use as a parsonage, at $400.00 per annum. But deficits were frequent at the close of the year, and the Board was constantly seeking to find ways and means of obtaining the needed funds. The Congregation, however, was increasing in numbers, and on Palm Sunday of 1859, 19 new members were received; four from other churches, four by adult baptism and eleven by confirmation. The following year, on Palm Sunday, there was another large addition, as 22 persons were received; and these were followed by seven more persons on Whit-Sunday.

On August 22, 1860, Bro. de Schweinitz announced that he had received a call to the pastorate of the church at Lititz, Pa. He was greatly divided in mind as to what to do about this, and he finally decided to submit the question to the lot, which had been cast by P. E. C., and which indicated that he was to accept the call. He felt that there was no alternative in the matter, and that therefore "with deep sorrow, it was his imperative duty silently and humbly to submit to the declared will of the Lord." A call was extended to Bro. Amadeus A. Reinke, who was at that time pastor of the church on Staten Island, to be his successor at the First Church, and Bro. Reinke accepted. It should be noted that these two men were among the leading ministers of the denomination at that time, and that they were both subsequently consecrated Bishops.

The change in the pastorate was effected in October, and Bro. Reinke first met officially with the Board of Elders on November 1. His salary had been previously fixed at $800 per annum.

In the mean time, the problem of meeting expenses continued to be a serious one. A proposal was made that pews be rented; but this came to nothing. In April, 1863, the Congregation was facing an expense of at least $400.00, to make repairs to the church. To meet this expense, "shares" at one dollar each were

offered to the Congregation, the money so received to be considered a thank offering. Plans were also made for holding a concert in the fall, and the Brethren James N. Beck and Massah M. Warner were appointed a committee to arrange the program. The concert was held on the evening of November 19, at Musical Fund Hall, on Locust Street above Eighth, which was rented for the occasion for $25.00. It was a great success; the receipts from the sale of tickets amounted to $730.70, and the expenses were $89.45, leaving a net balance of $641.25. It is interesting to note that these activities were carried out during the Civil War, when many young men were serving in the army and business conditions were unsettled. The nearest battlefields, however, were some distance from Philadelphia, and the daily lives of her citizens were apparently not seriously disturbed on account of hostilities. The cost of living was advancing, and in June, 1864, the pastor's salary was advanced to $75.00 a month. Difficulty was also experienced in finding someone to blow the bellows of the organ, and it was necessary to advance the salary of the "blower" to $20.00 per annum.

Early in 1864, the Home Mission Society of the First Church, which had been organized in 1849, invited the Rev. Herman S. Hoffman to undertake a Home Mission work under its auspices. A hall was rented at Sixth Street and Girard Avenue, and the first services were held January 24, 1864. This was the beginning of the Second Moravian Church, which, in 1868, first occupied its new church home at Franklin and Thompson Streets. The Home Mission Society continued to assist the enterprise until January 9, 1868, when it received a "Declaration of Independence" from the Second Church, which by that time had a vigorous and steadily growing congregation.

Early in 1865, the pastor's salary, in accordance with a recommendation from the congregation, was further advanced to $1,050 per annum.

On account of the assassination of President Lincoln, which took place on Good Friday, April 14, 1865, the usual Easter Monday Love-feast was omitted. The minutes of the Board state that on the following Wednesday, when the funeral of the late President took place in Washington, "most solemn and impressive

THE SECOND MORAVIAN CHURCH, 1868-1908.
(Now occupied by a Magyar Presbyterian Congregation)

Photo by Paul T. Warner.

services were held in our church to commemorate the mournful event."

Conducting the work of the church during this period was by no means free from difficulties. There was a constant financial stringency, and ways and means for obtaining more money were frequently under consideration. There was difficulty with the organist, and loud complaints from the congregation about the music. In October, 1865, the Pastor presented his resignation, as he had received, and had accepted a call to the pulpit of the Moravian Church in New York City. An exchange of pulpits followed, as the Rev. Joseph H. Kummer, who was the pastor in New York, received and accepted a call to Philadelphia. These changes necessitated the writing of various resolutions and communications which were recorded in the minutes of the Board, and were written in the formal and verbose style so popular at that time.

Shortly before Bro. Kummer's arrival, Bro. Isaac Ritter was appointed organist. He had been offered a salary of $75.00 per annum and had declined; stating, however, that he would serve for $100.00. This offer was accepted. At the same time, the salary of the new pastor was fixed at $1,100.00 per annum, "coal and gas to be paid by him."

It may be noted that at this time, and for some years previous, annual collections were received for the Philadelphia Bible Society and the Philadelphia Sabbath Association; and the collection at the New Year's Eve Service was given, as it still is, to the sexton of the church.

Increasing expense in conducting the work of the Church was causing continued financial trouble. The salary of the organist, for the year 1868, was increased to $200.00. At a meeting of the Board held on January 7, 1868, the Secretary was "instructed to draw up, in strong terms, a statement to be read from the pulpit on Sunday next—exhibiting to the congregation the true financial status and urging all to pay up" for the coming year.

We note that in July, 1868, it was necessary to close the galleries of the church to all except the organist and singers, due

to the "bad behavior of young men in the south gallery, their loud talking and general thoughtless behavior."

"Movies" were unknown in 1869, but in September of that year, permission was granted the Sunday School to use the audience chamber of the church for an exhibition of "Dissolving views" for the benefit of the Sunday School library; and in December, 1870, the lecture room was used by the Sunday School for exhibiting a stereopticon. The "magic lantern" was evidently proving one of the most popular entertainment features of the day.

On October 19, 1869, a special meeting of the Board was called to consider ways and means for increasing the membership and the attendance at the services. The following resolutions were adopted, to be submitted to the congregation—

"Resolved, That we, members of the First Moravian Church in Philadelphia, do hereby solemnly and earnestly pledge ourselves to attend faithfully upon the means of grace offered by our church; the Sabbath services, the Wednesday evening lectures, and the monthly Concert of Prayer; humbly acknowledging our remissness as a Congregation, in these particulars, in the past.

"Resolved, that we will do all in our power to aid and encourage the young men of the church, in their efforts to conduct the Young Men's Christain Union, by attending, when practicable, the meetings of that Society, and by such other means as may suggest themselves to us."

Efforts were also to be made to raise funds wherewith to build or buy a parsonage. Many of the problems confronting the congregation at that time were, apparently, not unlike those often met with today.

It was apparently the custom, up to May, 1870, for the sexes to sit apart during the Communion service; and at that time, the suggestion was made that married persons and members of families should sit together. This became the custom thereafter, in cases where families wished to do so.

In the records covering the Civil War period and the succeeding years, it is interesting to note the names of families which are still represented in the congregation, or which are well remembred by our older members. Among such names may be mentioned,

Esler, Smith, Jordan, Cregar, McClatchey, Ritter, Renshaw, Baker, Robinson, Seip, Senseman, Warner and others.

At the Annual Meeting of the Congregation held on February 2, 1871, it was decided to abolish Love-feasts. This decision held for slightly more than three years, when they were resumed under the leadership of the succeeding pastor.

In October, 1871, the Third Moravian Church, then referred to as the Church at Harrowgate, was dedicated. As the First Church was facing a trial; a change of pastors was becoming imperative, and until this was effected there was much correspondence with the authorities at Bethlehem. In January 1874, the Rev. Edward Rondthaler, whose father had served the church from 1849 to 1853, was installed as pastor. After serving about 2½ years, he presented his resignation, the reason given being that he considered himself unsuccessful in his pastorate. The Board of Elders declined to accept his resignation, which was subsequently withdrawn. In May, 1877, Bro. Rondthaler made a statement to the Board, showing that the Church was declining, and expressing the opinion that the neighborhood was at fault. What was formerly a most desirable residential section was rapidly becoming a business district of an undesirable type; in fact, the neighborhood was degenerating into what subsequently became known as the "tenderloin". Bro. Rondthaler's statement included a recommendation that a "branch" be started in the neighborhood north of Fairmount Avenue and West of Broad Street. This suggestion —which is of interest in view of subsequent events—was carefully considered, but was deferred for future action.

In the fall of the year, Bro. Rondthaler accepted a call to Salem, North Carolina, where he subsequently became a Bishop of the Southern Province, and exerted an influence which was widely felt in the religious activities of the State. He was succeeded by the Rev. Herman Jacobson, who, finding the work uncongenial and discouraging, resigned after a pastorate of three years. He was in turn succeeded, in the fall of 1880, by the Rev. William Henry Rice.

During an interval of several months which occurred between the pastorates of the Brethren Jacobson and Rice, a communication was received from the Board of Elders of the Second

Moravian Church suggesting a union of the two churches, as the Second Church felt unable to continue. Nothing came of the proposal at the time, however.

The pastorate of Bro. Rice terminated in 1884, and he was succeeded by the Rev. Charles Nagel, who had been serving the church at Lititz, Pa. Bro. Nagel preached his first sermon on January 25, 1885. He took up the work in the face of a most difficult problem—that of moving the church to a new location. The membership was becoming more and more scattered, and the neighborhood was steadily deteriorating. It was also essential that, if the graveyard was to be kept free from desecration, it would have to be moved as soon as possible. After considering the matter, it was decided to purchase two sections of burial lots in Ivy Hill Cemetery, and this was done in the fall of 1885.

In the meantime, the Second Moravian Church renewed its proposal that the two congregations unite. The question was referred to a Congregational Council of the First Church, which was held on October 10, 1885. The Council decided that, while a union of the two congregations was in many respects desirable, the First Church was so situated that it could not consider the matter further at that particular time. Shortly thereafter the Second Church advised that they would withdraw their proposal for a union of the two churches.

During the summer of 1886, considerable interest was taken in a possible site for a new church at the northeast corner of Seventeenth Street and Fairmount Avenue. It was agreed, however, that it would be unwise to make a purchase until the old property had been sold. In the meantime, the removal of the bodies from the old cemetery to the new plot at Ivy Hill was being successfully accomplished by George W. Ritter, who had the contract for doing the work.

On April 1, 1888, Mr. Henry Schneider was appointed sexton of the church. Except for the interval between the abandonment of the church building on Franklin Street and the completion of the present church on Fairmount Avenue, he served in this capacity continuously and most faithfully up to the time of his death on March 21, 1921. Although a member of the Roman Catholic Church, he regularly attended the Sunday services in

our church. Subsequent to his death his widow continued as janitress until, in the fall of 1941, failing health made it necessary for her to give up the work.

On April 23, 1888, the church property on Franklin Street was offered at public sale. The Board hoped to realize $60,000, although $55,000 would have been accepted. The highest bid, however, was only $40,000 and hence no sale was effected.

An interesting event occurred at a "Strawberry Festival" held on May 29, 1888, when Bro. Wm. H. Jordan presented the congregation with a frame containing the portraits of 19 pastors —including that of the Rev. Charles Nagel, pastor at the time. This group of portraits hangs in the pastor's study today, and constitutes a valuable part of the historical records of our church.

In October, 1888, a communication was received from the Board of the Second Moravian Church, of which the Rev. Charles L. Moench was then pastor, again proposing union. At a meeting of the pastors and joint boards of the two churches, held on October 25, a committee representing both congregations was appointed to study the situation and report later. It was subsequently decided that no actual union could be effected until one of the properties had been sold, so the question was "held open for future deliberations."

A Christian Endeavor Society was organized on October 21, 1888, with 24 active members and a number of associates. A Junior C. E. was organized in 1895, and an Intermediate Society about 1920. In 1926 a Young Peoples' C. E. was organized, and the original society changed its name to Christian Endeavor Alumni. It continued to function until October, 1941, when it finally disbanded after 53 years of active service.

In October, 1890, the First Church property was sold to James R. Applegate, a photographer who had a studio in the neighborhood, for $50,000, subject to a ground rent principal of $4,000. The congregation received, in part payment, a bond and mortgage for $32,000 secured upon the church property. The Board reserved the right to use the building for worship, for one year from the time of settlement; and this was later extended, by agreement, to June 1, 1892.

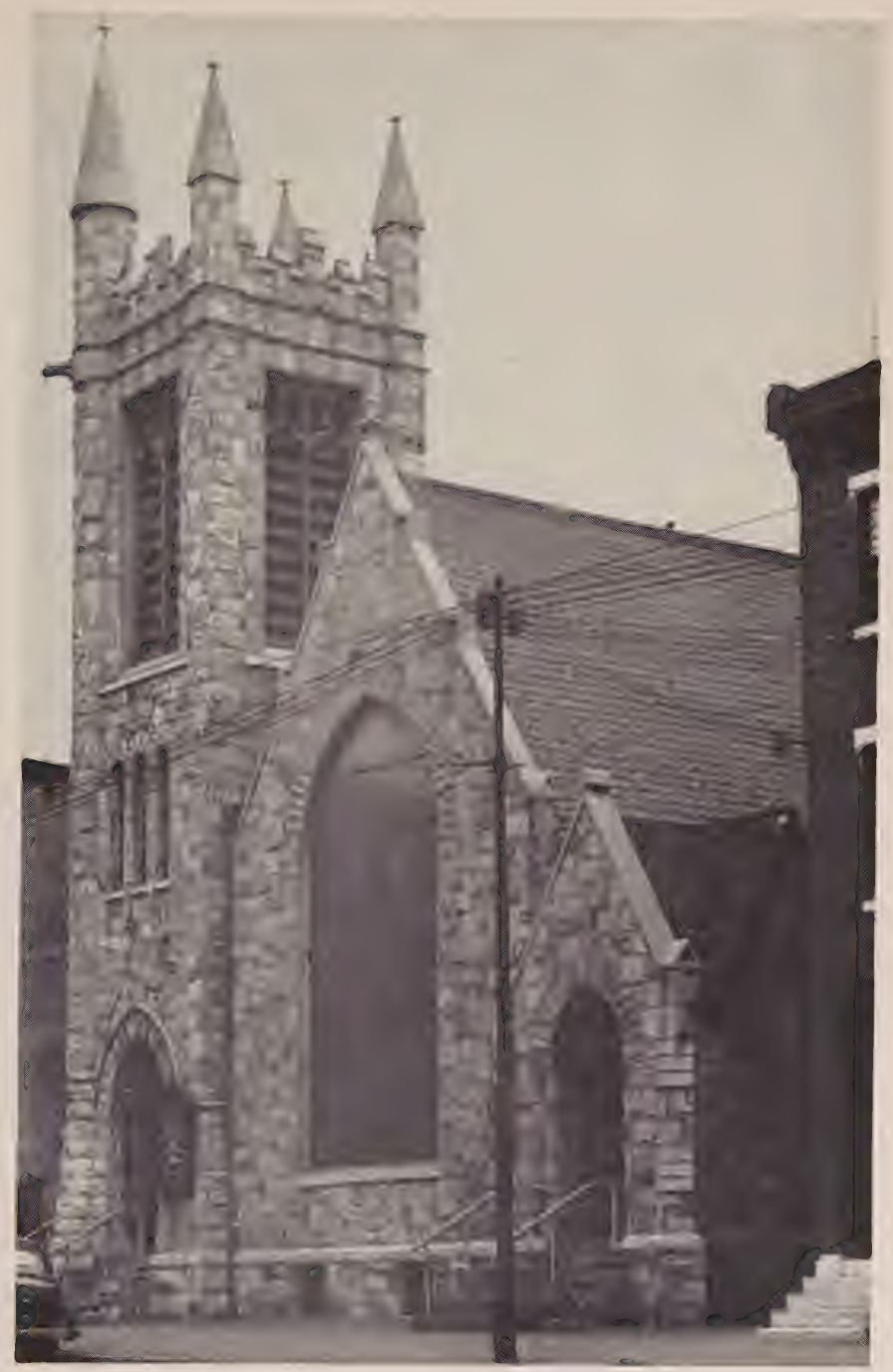
Subsequent to the sale there was erected, on the site of the old graveyard next to the church, a large carrousel or "Merry-go-round", which was quite in keeping with the other amusements provided in the neighborhood. Fortunately it was not operated on Sundays. The congregation, coming to worship one Sunday morning, found that the structure had been burned to the ground the night before; but the church building was uninjured, although it had been in serious danger.

Chapter IV

THE CHURCH IN ITS PRESENT HOME
1893-1942

As has been mentioned, the immediate vicinity of Fairmount Avenue and Seventeenth Street had long been considered as a favorable site for the new church; and late in 1891, the premises 1619, 1621, 1623 and 1625 Fairmount Avenue—four small residences—were purchased, thus providing a lot 72 feet wide and 100 feet deep, extending through to Olive Street in the rear. The Brethren Charles V. MacManus, George W. Myers and A. H. Heckman, were appointed to act with the members of the Board as a joint building committee, and subsequently Isaac Pursell was appointed architect of the new church. In July, 1892, F. L. Hoover was awarded the contract for erecting the building; his bid of $25,337.50 being the lowest of several received. To Charles S. Haskell, organ builder, was awarded the contract to remove and partially rebuild the organ in the Franklin Street church; his bid for the work being $1,950.

The last service in the old church was held on July 17, 1892; and early in the fall, temporary quarters were obtained in Handel and Haydn Hall at Eighth and Spring Garden Streets, where a large room was rented, in which two Sunday services and the sessions of the Sunday School were held. The records state that the services were well attended.



THE MORAVIAN CHURCH OF 1893.
The Fourth and Present Structure.

Photo by Paul T. Warner.

Work on the new church building was now well under way, and at 3.00 P.M. on Saturday, October 1, 1892, the corner stone was laid in the presence of about 300 persons. The ministers participating in the service were the Bishops H. T. Bachman and J. M. Levering, and the Reverends E. S. Wolle, J. T. Hamilton, A. B. Renshaw, and Charles Nagel, the pastor. The Reverends Raub* and Allen, respectively pastors of the Third and Fifth Moravian Churches in Philadelphia, also took part in the service. In the corner stone were placed the contents of the stone removed from the Franklin Street Church, together with lists of public and Moravian denominational officials, hymnals and current publications of the Moravian Church, a set of coins, and other objects of interest and value. It was in all respects a most impressive and appropriate service.

The chapel building was completed before the church auditorium was ready for occupancy, and the first services in the chapel were held on Sunday, March 19, 1893. At the Sunday School service in the afternoon, the Rev. E. S. Wolle, pastor of the Second Moravian Church, was present, and also Mr. Fries, Superintendent of the Moravian Sunday School in Salem, North Carolina. In charge of the First Church Sunday School at that time was Bro. Louis Eysenbach, Jr., who for many years was most actively associated with the work of the church, especially in the Sunday School and also as church treasurer.

The first service in the main auditorium of the church was held on September 17, 1893, and the structure was dedicated on October 8 following. The congregation at the service of dedication, held at 10.30 a.m., filled the auditorium to overflowing. The church and chapel were consecrated, and the sermon was preached, by Bishop J. Mortimer Levering; greetings were extended by the Rev. E. T. Kluge, President of the Provincial Elders Conference, and the Memorial pulpit and Communion table, together with several other memorials, were accepted by Bishop Edward Rondthaler, of the Southern Province. Bishop Rondthaler also preached the sermon at the evening service.

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* The Rev. F. E. Raub served the Third Church for 50 years, retiring in June, 1942. It was his only pastoral charge.

The first Communion Service in the new church was held on the following Sunday morning, October 15.

With practically no exceptions, the members were delighted with the church and chapel buildings, their furnishings and appointments. Of special interest was the stained glass work, which was designed and executed by Mrs. Fanny D. Sweeny. The central feature is the large memorial window which faces the pulpit, and is arranged with three panels. The central panel depicts Christ the Good Shepherd; while the two side panels respectively represent St. Paul preaching at Athens (in memory of Bishop Edmund de Schweinitz), and St. John on the Isle of Patmos (in memory of Bishop A. A. Reinke).

As part of the celebration commemorating the completion of the church, an organ recital was given in the evening of December 5, 1893. This recital was of special interest because several numbers were played by David Wood, the noted blind organist. Others who participated were Miss Anna Nagel, a daughter of the pastor and organist of the church, Massah M. Warner, and Frederick Maxson, who were well-known Philadelphia church organists; and a Miss Sniffin, who rendered vocal selections.

In November, 1894, the property 629 North 20th Street, about four blocks from the church, was purchased as a parsonage, and was occupied by the minister and his family shortly thereafter. For some time previous, the property at 1820 Fairmount Avenue had been rented as a parsonage. The new home of the minister was conveniently located and served its purpose admirably.

The First Church was now entering a period of prosperity; the membership was growing, there was a good spirit in the congregation, and the various church organizations were active. An interesting event was the establishment in March, 1896, of an Ushers Association with Samuel W. Frescoln as first President. This association, composed chiefly of the younger men of the church, did good work at the Sunday services, held interesting monthly meetings, and had an "Annual Banquet" which was a much-anticipated and greatly enjoyed event. The Ushers also distributed Christmas dinners among the poor in the neighborhood, frequently expending as much as $100.00 for food, together with a considerable amount of physical energy; for before the

advent of automobiles, it was often close to midnight on Christmas Eve before all the baskets were distributed.

In June, 1901, after a pastorate of 17 years, Bro. Nagel announced that he had received and had accepted a call to the church at Lancaster, Pa., and shortly thereafter Bishop Charles L. Moench, who was then serving the Lititz congregation, accepted a call to the First Church. Bishop Moench arrived in September, and a reception was tendered him and his family by the congregation, on October 8.

Bishop Moench had a charming personality; he was not only a fine preacher and devoted pastor, but also an excellent organizer and manager. It is dangerous to make comparisons, but it is probably a fact that during his administration, the First Church reached the highest point thus far attained in the effectiveness of its work. One factor which contributed to this was the active part taken by a number of members who had ample financial means and who used those means with liberality. The First Church became noted, throughout the denomination, because of its generous contributions to missionary and philanthropic causes; and it was generally looked upon as a pace-setter in the matter of giving.

Bishop Moench soon began to reintroduce certain Moravian customs which had become more or less neglected. Two months after his arrival, the festival of the 13th of November was celebrated with appropriate services. The church choir was reorganized, and the quality of the music rendered was raised to a high standard. A brass choir was also organized; its first attempts were rather disappointing, but an improvement was soon noted.

A change of organists was necessary shortly after the installation of the new Pastor; and Mrs. Thomas Peacock, a young woman of considerable ability, was selected for the position. This she held for a period of 36 consecutive years, serving most faithfully until failing health compelled her to retire.

In the fall of 1903 it was decided to celebrate the founding of the congregation with an appropriate program, to be observed on the first Sunday in November. A historical sermon was preached in the morning, and there was a Love-feast at four o'clock in the afternoon. The church was in urgent need of new carpets

and other repairs, and the congregation was asked to contribute $2,000.00. The amount actually contributed and pledged was $2,011.35. It was a day of great rejoicing; and ever since, "Anniversary Sunday" has been a special feature of the fall program.

In the spring of 1908, individual Communion cups were adopted instead of the common cup which had been used up to that time. The great majority of the congregation favored this change, but a few were bitterly opposed to it. Therefore, it was decided to continue the use of the common cup at the Communion service on Good Friday afternoon, which was held especially for those who could not be present on the evening of Maundy Thursday. Several years later, however, the use of the common cup was entirely discontinued.

In the fall of 1908, a Provincial Synod elected Bishop Moench a member of the Provincial Elders' Conference; and this necessitated his resignation as Pastor of the First Church. This resignation, in view of what was being accomplished under his leadership, was accepted with the greatest regret. The Bishop preached his farewell sermon on October 11.

A rather unusual situation was now confronting the congregation. The Pastor of the Second Moravian Church, the Rev. Edward S. Wolle, who was much beloved by his people, was called by the Provincial Elders' Conference to the First Church; and he accepted the call. Immediately thereafter, the Boards of the Second Church again proposed that the two Congregations unite. The union was effected; and the former Second Church congregation worshipped in the First Church for the first time on November 29, 1908, when 163 members were received into the latter church. But, as is so often the case in mergers of this kind, something had to happen to mar what should have been a great stimulus to the activities of the First Church. In the spring of 1909 there was an election for a new Board of Elders; and legal opinion was sought as to whether, in view of the fact that the union had taken place less than a year previously, the former Second Church members be allowed to vote.* An adverse decision

* Under the First Church Charter, only adults who had been in good standing as communicant members for more than one year were allowed to vote.

was rendered, and the privilege was denied. It is not our purpose to question the legality of this decision, but in view of what followed it would undoubtedly have been better if the question had never been raised and the voting privilege had been granted. The congregation was weakened; many members were offended, and the unfortunate effects of the decision were apparent for years to come.

At the election held in May, 1909, Oscar F. Bornemann was elected a member of the Board of Elders. He served most faithfully until his death on August 24, 1939, and was President of the Board for 14 years.

In the fall of 1909, a group of Sunday School workers, believing that the influence of the School could be made more effective among the children of the neighborhood, organized a Social Service work, which was conducted on Friday evenings. A trained worker was engaged to supervise this activity; not only was she present at the Friday evening gatherings, but she also visited in the neighborhood and took an active part in the work of the Sunday School. The children were divided into groups; the boys built models with Meccano sets, and were taught some simple carpentry and given other work that was of interest to them, while the girls were taught sewing and were trained to be useful in the home. Each evening was closed with a brief devotional service conducted by the Sunday School Superintendent. Starting with an attendance of 25 to 30, there was a steady increase in numbers and also in interest on the part of the children. Protestants, Catholics and Jews were welcome, and no attempt was made to proselyte. It can truly be said that the work was done with purely unselfish motives.

The Pastor took great interest in this work, but his successor felt that it was not of sufficient value to the church to warrant the expense and effort required; and therefore after it had been continued for five years, it was finally abandoned, much to the regret of those who had been active in it.

On January 4, 1910, a fire, due to a defective flue, damaged the west end of the chapel building. The loss was fortunately covered by insurance; repairs were made promptly and church activities were not seriously hampered.

In May, 1912, Bro. Wolle underwent a serious surgical operation, and it was some months before he was able to resume his work. It became evident thereafter that his strength was permanently impaired, and that his retirement was only a matter of time. He preached his farewell sermon on October 26, 1913, and about a month later the Rev. John S. Romig, D.D., who was pastor of the church at Great Kills, Staten Island, accepted a call to the First Church. A few months after his installation, he went abroad to attend a General Synod of the Moravian Church at Herrnhut, Saxony. His European visit was rudely interrupted by the breaking out of the World War on August 1, 1914, which compelled him to return to the United States earlier than he anticipated.

Dr. Romig was an energetic worker, and early in his pastorate, increased activity in the congregation became evident. The various societies were well organized, and the pastor's wife took an active part, especially in the King's Daughters' Circle and the Dorcas Society. There were frequent accessions to the membership and several large confirmation classes during Dr. Romig's pastorate.

The 175th anniversary of the founding of the Congregation was celebrated in November, 1917. The program was most interesting. On Thursday evening, November 1, there was a "Community Service", at which there were addresses by four prominent clergymen—the Rev. Ernest Pfatteicher, Ph.D., Pastor of the Lutheran Church of the Holy Communion; the Rev. Frank P. Parkin, D.D., of the Methodist Episcopal Church, at that time General Secretary of the American Bible Society; the Rev. Carl E. Grammer, S.T.D., Rector of St. Stephens Protestant Episcopal Church; and the Rev. Edward Yates Hill, D.D., Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, all of Philadelphia. On the following evening, November 2, there was a reunion and a reception to former pastors, four of whom—the Rev. Charles Nagel, the Rt. Rev. C. L. Moench, the Rev. E. S. Wolle and the Rt. Rev. Edward Rondthaler—were still living. The first three were present, and extended their greetings in person; while Bishop Rondthaler sent a written message. A number of other ministers and friends spoke briefly; there were musical selections, and refreshments were served at the close of the program.

November 4 was Anniversary Sunday. At the morning service, Bishop Moench, who was then President of the Provincial Elders' Conference, delivered the sermon to an audience of 225 persons. At the Love-feast in the afternoon the church was crowded, over 300 being present. The special feature of this service was an address by Dr. Edgar Fahs Smith, Provost of the University of Pennsylvania. Dr. Smith presented the church with a letter written by Zinzendorf to his teacher, Prof. Francke of Halle, in 1727. The offerings taken at the services were donated to Missions, and the total amount received was $2,209.00.

The Anniversary Communion was held on the following Sunday, when a large congregation was present and five new members were received. The entire Anniversary celebration was a notable event in the history of the congregation.

Samuel W. Frescoln, who had been an active worker in the congregation for many years, and had served on the Board of Elders, died suddenly on February 28, 1919. He left important bequests to the First Church, stipulating that the income be used largely for missionary purposes.

A notable accession to the membership took place on Palm Sunday in 1920, when 17 young people were confirmed. This was one of the largest confirmation classes in the history of the congregation.

An important improvement in the equipment of the church plant was effected in December 1921, when electric lighting was installed in place of the old gas fixtures. This later made it possible to replace the water motor, for blowing the church organ, with an electric motor; another valuable improvement.

The Church Hymnal now in use was introduced in 1924, and was used for the first time at a Communion service held on June 8 of that year.

In the spring of 1928, Dr. Romig proposed holding a service at seven o'clock on Easter Sunday morning, on the church plot in Ivy Hill Cemetery. Doubts were expressed as to the feasibility of the plan, but the Rev. F. E. Raub, Pastor of the Third Moravian Church, agreed to co-operate; and the service was a success. The singing was led by a brass choir composed of players from

both churches; and the early service at Ivy Hill has since been a regular feature of the Easter program.

Dr. Romig was a hard worker and a vigorous leader; but early in 1929 his health was failing, and he was granted a prolonged vacation during the summer. He returned to his pulpit in the fall, but in January, 1930 he was again taken ill; and he requested that his pastorate be terminated on April 30. After his retirement he moved to Florida, and lived there up to the time of his death in 1932.

During the summer of 1930, the pulpit was occupied by Victor L. Thomas, who at that time was a theological student at the Moravian College, and who is now an ordained minister of the Moravian Church.

In September, 1930, the Rev. Allen W. Schattschneider, S.T.D., who was then pastor of the churches at New Dorp Beach and Midland Beach, Staten Island, was called to the pastorate of the First Church. He was installed by the Rev. J. E. Weinland, D.D., on November 2, the day on which the 188th Anniversary of the Congregation was celebrated.

Dr. Schattschneider ministered to the church during the difficult years following the financial crash of 1929, when incomes were reduced and meeting expenses was a serious problem for many. In spite of this, the church property underwent extensive improvements during this period; for in 1931 new oil-burning heating equipment was installed, and in 1938 new floor coverings and other furnishings were purchased. These improvements added materially to the comfort of the congregation and the attractiveness of the church plant.

Early in 1940, a Boy Scout Troop was organized under the leadership of Ronald Clark. An Investiture Service for the Troop was held on the evening of November 27 of that year. The Scouts have been faithful to their duties and have rendered the church valuable service.

In December, 1940, Dr. Schattschneider received and accepted a call to the Moravian Church at Riverside, New Jersey; and he preached his farewell sermon on January 12, 1941. Pending the calling of another pastor, the services were placed in charge of

Mervin C. Weidner, a graduate of the Moravian College and Theological Seminary. His work was so acceptable that he was called to the pastorate, and was installed on March 30, 1942, by the Rev. F. P. Stocker. Included among those at the installation service were many friends of the congregation and the new pastor, some of them from points as far distant as Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

Mr. Weidner introduced new methods in the work of the church. The Sunday School was reorganized on departmental lines, and the quartette choir was replaced by a volunteer chorus of 14 members. The chorus organized shortly after it was formed, and financed the purchase of vestments which were worn at the Sunday services. While there was some difference of opinion regarding the advisability of this change, it has undoubtedly resulted in a more worshipful atmosphere; and there has been a marked improvement in the singing. The pastor also re-organized the young people in the congregation, forming several groups according to age limits. These groups attend the sessions of the Sunday School, and meet at stated times for conferences and social gatherings.

At the 199th Anniversary, held on November 9, 1941, the speaker was the Rev. W. Vivian Moses, D.D., of Bethlehem. The Anniversary Thank Offering amounted to $1,578.83, and this made it possible to close the year without a deficit in the current account. This was most gratifying, in view of the continued deficits which the congregation had been facing for some years past.

As these lines are written, preparations for the 200th Anniversary, to be held during the first week of November, 1942, are being made by a special committee headed by Edward S. Peyton, Vice President of the Board of Elders. The war is making itself felt in the work of our church, for it has taken a number of our young men and it is, indirectly but surely, hampering the activities of a membership as widely spread geographically as is ours. But the story which we have endeavored to write shows plainly that the church has weathered more than one crisis in the past, and that with the blessing of God and the work of devoted members, it has survived. We believe that there is yet work for it to do, and we therefore close our history with the plea that the same

earnest spirit which has prevailed in the past may be shown during the trying, war-cursed days in which we are now living. May God bless "Philadelphia First", and grant that she may still be actively serving Him years hence, when the 200th Anniversary will be but a distant memory!

APPENDIX

MINISTERS OF THE FIRST MORAVIAN CHURCH PHILADELPHIA

Previous to the year 1785, the congregation was apparently unorganized, and was served by groups of brethren, who preached at various outlying points as well as in Philadelphia. The first minister was really Count Zinzendorf who, however, sailed for Europe shortly after the church was established. The following list of ministers is based largely on information given in Abraham Ritter's history:

Peter Boehler	1743-1747
David Bruce	
Thomas Yarrel	
— Okely	
Owen Rice	
Richard Utley	
— Evans	
Thomas Greening	
Matthew Reitz	
Richard Bonner	
Andrew Eschenbach	
John Bechtel	
Daniel Neubert	
Abraham Reinke	1747-1756
Owen Rice	
John Gambold	
Richard Utley	
— Herman	
Jacob Rogers	
John Brandtmiller	
Abraham L. Rusmayer	
John Valentine Haidt	1754-1756
Christopher Frank	
Thomas Yarrel	
Christian Otto Krogstrup	1756-1762
Jasper Payne	
— Herman	
Jacob Rogers	
— Till	
Henry Beck	
George Neisser	1762-1774
Richard Utley	
Jacob Fries	

Daniel Sydrick	1774-1784
Bernhardt Adam Grube	1785
Jacob Fries	1785
John Meder	1785-1799
John Frederick Frueauff	1799-1803
Joseph Zaeslein	1803-1812
John C. Beckler	1812-1813
John Meder	1813-1814
John G. Miller	1814-1817
William Henry Van Vleck	1817-1822
Samuel Reinke	1822-1823
John G. Herman	1823-1826
Peter Wolle	1826-1836
David Bigler	1836-1842
Henry A. Schultz	1842-1844
William H. Benade	1844 (6 months)
Emanuel M. Rondthaler, Jr.	1844-1848
Edward Reichel	1848-1849
Edward Rondthaler	1849-1853
Edmund A. de Schweinitz	1853-1860
Amadeus A. Reinke	1860-1865
Joseph H. Kummer	1865-1873
Edward Rondthaler	1874-1877
Herman Jacobson	1877-1880
William Henry Rice	1880-1884
Charles Nagel	1885-1901
Charles L. Moench, D.D., Ep.	1901-1908
Edward S. Wolle	1908-1913
John S. Romig, D.D.	1913-1930
Allen W. Schattschneider, S.T.D.	1930-1941
Mervin C. Weidner	1941-

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History of the Moravian Church in Philadelphia, by Abraham Ritter (1857).

Historical Discourse on the Moravian Church in Philadelphia, by the Rev. Herman Jacobson, November 25, 1877.

Daily Stories of Pennsylvania, by Frederick A. Godcharles. (Milton. Pa., 1924).

Address by the Rev. C. L. Moench, commemorating the 25th Anniversary of the Second Moravian Church, Philadelphia.

Sundry pamphlets, records, etc., on file in the Archives at Bethlehem and elsewhere.

ANNUAL MEETING

of the

Moravian Historical Society

October 16, 1941

The business meeting of the Society convened in the museum, at the Whitefield House, Nazareth, Penna., October 16, 1941, at 11.15 a.m., the President, Dr. W. N. Schwarze, presiding. Eleven members were present.

The minutes of the last annual meeting of the Society had been approved by the Executive Committee, and reading of them was not called for. The minutes of the last meeting of the Executive Committee, held August 14, 1941, were read and approved as read.

The Treasurer submitted his annual financial statement. The following is an abstract, viz.:

Cash balance on hand, October 1, 1940	$5,779.72
Receipts	3,390.76
	$9,170.48
Disbursements	2,003.32
Balance on hand, October 1, 1941	$7,167.16

On motion, the report was accepted and ordered filed. On motion, the Treasurer was authorized to invest $1,000 of capital funds in United States War Bonds.

For the Publication Committee, Dr. Schwarze reported that "Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society," Vol. XIII, Parts I and II, would be ready for distribution within the next few months.

The Librarian, the Rev. G. M. Shultz, A.M., reported that 425 persons had registered as visitors to the museum. He stated that a considerable number of volumes, pamphlets, and articles of

historical interest had been donated to the library and the museum, during the year. Special mention was made of certain of these donations, viz., paintings by the late Brother Eugene Leibert, books from the library of Nazareth Hall, map of the Indian cemetery at Nazareth with correct notation of all the graves, copy of the original deed conveying the 1,500 acres of land for the Moravian settlement at Hope, N. J., two pairs of old wrought-iron hinges, copy of the old Emmaus cemetery records. Upon recommendation of the Librarian, it was ordered that two fire extinguishers be secured for the museum, a Committee to be appointed to make the purchase. As further recommended by the Librarian, binding of the unbound volumes of "The Moravian" was authorized.

The election of officers for the ensuing year resulted as follows:

President, The Rev. W. N. Schwarze, Ph.D., D.D.

Vice Presidents, The Rev. S. H. Gapp, Ph.D., D.D.; Dean Albert G. Rau, Ph.D., L.H.D., LL.D.; the Rev. E. S. Hagen, D.D.; Professor Herbert H. Beck, Sc.D.; Mr. Archibald Johnston, M.E.; Miss Adelaide L. Fries, Litt.D.; the Rt. Rev. J. Taylor Hamilton, D.D., L.H.D.; Mr. William H. Milchsack.

Secretary, Mr. William E. Henry.

Librarian, The Rev. G. M. Shultz, A.M.

Treasurer, Mr. James S. Fry.

Publication Committee, The Rev. W. N. Schwarze, Ph.D., D.D.; Mr. Harry J. Meyers; the Rev. Kenneth G. Hamilton, Ph.D.

Board of Managers, Mr. James S. Fry; Mr. William E. Henry; Mr. John E. Leibfried.

Library Committee, Mr. J. Frederick Knecht, A.M.; the Rev. G. M. Shultz, A.M.; the Rev. Paul S. Meinert, A.M.; Mr. Andrew G. Kern; Mr. George W. Hahn; Professor Samuel C. Zeller, A.M.

Graveyard Committee, Mr. William H. Milchsack; Mr. A. O. Sturgis; Mr. Robert F. Ziegler.

The Secretary announced the names of the applicants for membership, viz.:

For Active Membership, Mr. James S. Munger, the Rev. John R. Weinlick, A.M., the Rev. Charles J. Bornman, A.M.

Adjournment.

MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The Executive Committee met immediately after the adjournment of the business session of the Society, elected the nominees of that session to active membership, and adjourned.

VESPER MEETING

About one hundred and seventy-five members and guests of the Society assembled for the afternoon session in the social rooms of the Nazareth Moravian Church, at 1.15 p.m. The trombone choir of the Nazareth Moravian Church announced the annual Vesper meeting with several chorale selections. After the Vesper meal, the President read the names of those members of the Society who had departed to their eternal rest during the past year, viz., Edward Jordan Bell, B. F. Fackenthal, the Rev. C. A. Meilicke, D.D., the Rev. Victor Flinn, Mrs. G. Fred Krause, Mrs. L. F. Leibfried, Mrs. Noel F. Mask, Mr. Eugene D. Trein, Mr. Edgar T. Yeisley. The customary memorial hymn was sung in their memory, the members and guests standing.

After a few words of greeting and welcome to the assembled members and guests, the President introduced the Rev. John Joseph Stoudt as speaker of the afternoon. His paper was entitled "Count Zinzendorf and the Pennsylvania Congregation of God in the Spirit." His treatment of this "first American Oecumenical Movement" was, more particularly, from the standpoint of the doctrinal differences represented by the personalities involved in the discussions which characterized the early so-called Pennsylvania Synods, attended by delegates of the various denominations and sects found in the Pennsylvania Colony of the middle of the eighteenth century. The paper was very informative on the issues involved, as its author showed thorough knowledge of the sources from which the material was drawn. In the discussion which followed hearty appreciation was expressed of the instructive value of the paper as, also, some differences of view as to interpretation of the subject-matter presented. Unquestionably, the paper made clear reasons for the failure of the well intended plans for the Synods and the resulting reactions on the several denominations and sects concerned in the movement.

Adjournment, after the singing of a closing hymn.

WM. E. HENRY, *Secretary.*

ANNUAL MEETING

of the

Moravian Historical Society

October 8, 1942

The business meeting of the Society convened in the museum, at the Whitefield House, Nazareth, Penna., October 8, 1942, at 11.15 a.m., the President, Dr. W. N. Schwarze, presiding. Sixteen members were present.

In order to accommodate representatives of the press, the regular order of business was suspended by common consent and the election of officers for the ensuing year taken up at once. The results were as follows:

President, The Rev. W. N. Schwarze, Ph.D., D.D.

Vice Presidents, The Rev. S. H. Gapp, Ph.D., D.D.; the Rev. E. S. Hagen, D.D.; Professor Herbert H. Beck, Sc.D.; Mr. Archibald Johnston, M.E.; Miss Adelaide L. Fries, Litt.D.; Mr. William H. Milchsack; the Rt. Rev. J. Taylor Hamilton, D.D., L.H.D.

Secretary, Mr. William E. Henry.

Librarian, The Rev. G. M. Shultz, A.M.

Treasurer, Mr. James S. Fry.

Publication Committee, The Rev. W. N. Schwarze, Ph.D., D.D.; Mr. Harry J. Meyers; the Rev. Kenneth G. Hamilton, Ph.D.

Board of Managers, Mr. James S. Fry; Mr. John E. Leibfried; Mr. William E. Henry.

Library Committee, Mr. J. Frederick Knecht, A.M.; the Rev. G. M. Shultz, A.M.; the Rev. Paul S. Meinert, A.M.; Mr. Andrew G. Kern; Mr. George W. Hahn; Professor Samuel C. Zeller, A.M.

Graveyard Committee, Mr. A. O. Sturgis; Mr. William H. Milchsack; Mr. Robert F. Ziegler.

The minutes of the last annual meeting of the Society had been approved by the Executive Committee, and the reading of them was not called for. The minutes of the last meeting of the Executive Committee, held September 9, were read and approved as read.

The Treasurer submitted his annual financial statement. The following is an abstract, viz.:

Cash balance on hand, October 1, 1941	$7,167.16
Receipts	996.93
	$8,164.09
Disbursements	1,653.94
Cash balance on hand, October 1, 1942	$6,510.15

On motion the report, properly audited, was accepted and ordered filed.

For the Publication Committee, Dr. Schwarze reported that the "Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society," Vol. XIII, Parts I and II, will be ready for mailing about October 15th. There has been, he stated, delay in the printing, in order that the "History of the First Moravian Church, Philadelphia," written by Brother Paul T. Warner, might be included in this number of the Society's publications.

The Librarian, the Rev. G. M. Shultz, A.M., stated that the number of accessions to the museum and library collections had been comparatively small, this past year, and that only about one fifth of the usual number of visitors had registered during the year. A number of volumes of "The Moravian" had been bound, and a number of books had been either repaired or bound. He stated that Vol. VI of the Society's Transactions is about exhausted and asked that members or friends send him any extra or unused copies of this volume they may have for disposal. Some valuable donations to the museum had been received, and among books added to our shelves there was an old Bible of 1767 and the volume entitled "The Union Canal in Relation to Philadelphia." On motion, the report was accepted.

The Secretary announced the names of applicants for membership, viz.:

For Active Membership, Mrs. Flora D. Lees, the Rev. Mervin C. Weidner, Mr. Paul T. Warner, Mr. R. A. Buchhaupt, Mrs. Carrie E. Kutz, Mrs. Helen V. Faust, Mrs. Paul A. Trageser, Mr. James R. Schmid, Mrs. James R. Schmid, Mr. John L. Shupp, Mrs. John L. Schupp, Mr. George S. Bischoff, Mrs. George S. Bischoff, Mrs. Kenneth G. Hamilton, Mr. William H. Jameson, Mrs. William H. Jameson, Mr. Joseph F. Ziegler, Mrs. Joseph F. Ziegler, Mr. Stanley R. Frantz, Mrs. Stanley R. Frantz, Mr. E. A. Eberman, Mrs. Caroline M. Pharo.

For Associate Membership, the Rev. Richard L. Williams, D.D.

The Rev. Robert H. Brennecke proposed that the remuneration of the Librarian be increased because of his devoted and efficient labors. After some consideration, this matter was referred to the Executive Committee, with power to act.

Brother Kenneth Felker offered translations and tabulations of the record of births and deaths of the Lancaster congregation. This was referred to the Publication Committee. He, also, offered an old chest more than a hundred years old and formerly the property of the late William Ebermann. This was accepted with thanks.

The Rev. Kenneth G. Hamilton, Ph.D., presented in behalf of the donor, Mrs. Herman Holtmeier, Lake Auburn, Minn., records of the Thibetan Mission. These were accepted with thanks.

Adjournment.

MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The Executive Committee met immediately after the adjournment of the business session of the Society, elected the nominees of the morning session to the several classifications of membership named, and adjourned.

VESPER MEETING

After the trombone choir of the Nazareth Moravian Church had announced the meeting with the rendition of several chorale selections, about one hundred and seventy members and guests

of the Society gathered about the luncheon tables. The President called the meeting to order, at 1.15 p.m.

After the Vesper meal, the President read the names of the members of the Society who had departed to their eternal rest, during the past year, viz., Mr. George Chandler, Mr. Harry Wilbur, William Henry, the Hon. Russell C. Stewart, Mr. William H. Winterrowd, Mrs. Joanna S. Buffan, Mr. William H. Minnich, Dr. Albert G. Rau, Mr. Bernard deSchweinitz, Mr. H. C. Seldomridge, the Rev. P. A. Laury. The customary memorial stanza was sung, the company of members and guests standing.

After brief words of welcome and greeting to the members and guests present, the President introduced as the speaker of the afternoon Mr. Paul T. Warner, who read extracts from his "History of the First Moravian Church, Philadelphia, Penna., 1742-1942." Based on much research, this was very interesting and instructive, particularly in view of the two-hundredth anniversary of the founding of this congregation. The history has already been published in the "Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society."

The Secretary read the names of the members who had joined the Society in course of the year and stated that the total membership figure of the Society now stands at 363.

Adjournment, after the singing of an appropriate hymn stanza.

WM. E. HENRY, *Secretary.*

ANNUAL MEETING

of the

Moravian Historical Society

October 7, 1943

The business meeting of the Society convened in the museum, at the Whitefield House, Nazareth, Penna., October 7, 1943, at 11.15 a.m., the president, Dr. W. N. Schwarze, presiding. Thirteen members were present.

Reading of the minutes of the last annual meeting was not called for, since these had been approved by the Executive Committee. The minutes of the last meeting of the Executive Committee were read and approved as read.

The Treasurer submitted his annual financial statement. The following is an abstract, viz.:

Cash balance on hand, October 1, 1942	$6,510.15
Receipts	1,911.26
	$8,421.41
Disbursements	6,936.53
Cash balance on hand, October 1, 1943	$1,484.88

On motion, the report, properly audited, was accepted and ordered filed.

The Librarian, the Rev. G. M. Shultz, A.M., in his report stated that, due to the limitations of transportation facilities under present conditions, the number of visitors to the museum had greatly decreased. As authorized by the Executive Committee, some books had been bound and some purchased. Some books had been donated. Among these accessions he noted, particularly, photostatic copy of the burial records of the Lancaster Moravian cemetery, 1744-1821, "History of Moravian Missions," by J.

Taylor Hamilton, "History of Wachovia," by J. H. Clewell, "History of Missions," by A. C. Thompson, Christopher Saur's German Bible, third edition of 1776, "Map of the Forks of the Delaware, under the Penn Heirs, 1681-1783," by A. C. Chidsey, "Records of the Moravians in North Carolina," by Dr. Adelaide L. Fries, and issued by the North Carolina Historical Commission, and a copy of "Moravians in Georgia," by Dr. Adelaide L. Fries. The museum received some curios relating to the Moravian mission in Thibet, and the late Major H. J. F. Reusswig's uniforms, insignia, medals, and sword.

For the Publication Committee, Dr. W. N. Schwarze reported that "Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society, Vol. XIII, Parts III and IV, were now in process of preparation for publication.

For the Graveyard Committee, the Secretary reported that investigation showed that conditions at the so-called Indian cemetery, Nazareth, required attention, as the foundation of the monument was sinking, the pavilion needed repair and painting, and the pathway approaching the plot should be cleared of obstructions. A special committee was appointed to determine what ought to be done to remedy the conditions and given power to act.

Mr. J. Davis Weiss, of Brodheadsville, Penna., informed the members present that he had located the original tombstones of the Gilberts cemetery, Monroe County, Penna. He was authorized to find out whether steps could be taken to salvage these tombstones.

Mr. Robert Henry, of Haddonfield, N. J., offered to present to the museum of the Society an old wood-burning stove built at the Catherine Ann Furnace, near Jacobsburg, and to the library of the Society a number of books by Brother James S. Berg, formerly a missionary in the West Indies. On motion, these items were accepted with hearty thanks.

The Secretary announced the names of applicants for membership, viz.:

For Life Membership, Mrs. E. Samuel Grosh.

For Active Membership, Miss Elva Sieg, Mrs. Robert E. Shafer.

For Associate Membership, the Rev. A. S. Lieby, Dr. E. A. N. Seyfried, Mr. J. Davis Weiss, Mrs. Charles L. Shimer.

The customary honoraria of $50.00 each were ordered paid to the Secretary, the Treasurer, and the Librarian, together with an extra appropriation of $150.00 to the Libarian for extra services. Because of the great amount of work involved in arranging for the Vesper meal, under present difficult food supply conditions, an honorarium of $10.00 was ordered paid to Mrs. James S. Fry.

The following officers were duly elected for the ensuing year:

President, The Rev. W. N. Schwarze, Ph.D., D.D.

Vice Presidents, The Rt. Rev. S. H. Gapp, Ph.D., D.D.; Mr. William H. Milchsack; Mr. Archibald Johnston, M.E.; the Rev. E. S. Hagen, D.D.; Professor Herbert H. Beck, Sc.D.; Miss Adelaide L. Fries, Litt.D.; the Rt. Rev. J. Taylor Hamilton, D.D., L.H.D.

Secretary, Mr. William E. Henry.

Treasurer, Mr. James S. Fry.

Librarian, The Rev. G. M. Shultz, A.M.

Publication Committee, The Rev. W. N. Schwarze, Ph.D., D.D.; the Rev. Kenneth G. Hamilton, Ph.D.

Board of Managers, Mr. James S. Fry; Mr. John E. Leibfried; Mr. William E. Henry.

Library Committee, Mr. J. Frederick Knecht, A.M.; the Rev. G. M. Shultz, A.M.; the Rev. Paul S. Meinert, A.M.; Mr. Andrew G. Kern; Mr. George W. Hahn; the Rev. Samuel C. Zeller, A.M.

Graveyard Committee, Mr. Robert F. Ziegler; Mr. William H. Milchsack; Mr. J. Frederick Knecht, A.M.; Mr. George W. Hahn.

Adjournment.

MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The Executive Committee met immediately after the adjournment of the business session of the Society, elected the nominees of the morning session to the several classifications of membership named, and adjourned.

VESPER MEETING

Members and guests of the Society, numbering about one hundred and fifty-five, were present for the afternoon session in the social rooms of the Nazareth Moravian Church, beginning at 1.15 p.m. The trombone choir of the Nazareth Moravian congregation announced the annual Vesper meeting with several chorale selections. After the Vesper meal, the President announced the names of those members of the Society who had departed to their eternal rest during the past year, viz., Mr. Henry J. Meyers, Mr. James M. Yeakel, Miss Elizabeth D. Burrows, Mrs. Alice Leopold, Miss Laura Bell, the Rev. S. C. Albright, A.M., Mr. Albert O. Sturgis, Mrs. Frank Wenzel, Miss Elizabeth Richardson, and Mr. Chester Schmoyer. The customary memorial hymn was sung, the members and guests standing.

The President addressed a few words of greeting and welcome to the assembly and, then, introduced Mr. Garth A. Howland, Associate Professor of Fine Arts at Lehigh University, who presented an excellent paper on "The Early Appearances of the Moravian Buildings on Church Street, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania." Based on thorough-going studies of the buildings themselves and on such materials as manuscript sources yielded, the paper disclosed much detailed information the painstaking researches had brought to light. Stereopticon projected pictures and plans of details of structure illustrated the presentation of the subject. This paper considerably extended in instructive material forms an interesting and valuable part of this number of the "Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society."

The Secretary read the names of those persons who had joined the Society during the past year. He stated that the membership of the Society, all classifications, now totals 381.

After the singing of an appropriate hymn stanza, the eighty-sixth annual meeting of the Society was declared adjourned.

WM. E. HENRY, *Secretary.*

In Memoriam

EDWARD JORDAN BELL

was born in————, ———— He died in ————, ————. He joined the Society in————.

B. F. FACKENTHAL

was born in Doylestown, Penna., June 2, 1851. He died in Riegelsville, Penna., October 10, 1941. He joined the Society in 1910.

THE REV. C. ARTHUR MEILICKE, D.D.,

was born in Oak Ridge, Minn., July 1, 1872. He died in Bethlehem, Penna., August 24, 1941. He joined the Society in 1927.

THE REV. VICTOR GAUSE FLINN

was born in Wilmington, Delaware, April 11, 1868. He died in New York City, N. Y., May 1, 1941. He joined the Society in 1915.

MRS. G. FRED KRAUSE

was born in Bethlehem, Penna., October 1, 1870. She died in Bethlehem, Penna., April 11, 1941. She joined the Society in 1905.

MRS. L. F. LEIBFRIED

was born in Canal Dover, Ohio, March 31, 1852. She died in Bethlehem, Penna., February 5, 1941. She joined the Society in 1895.

Mrs. Noel F. Mask

was born in Anamosia, Iowa, March 17, 1872. She died in Bethlehem, Penna., April 5, 1941. She joined the Society in 1936.

Eugene D. Trein

was born in Bushkill Township (Cherry Hill), Penna., October 29, 1879. He died in Nazareth, Penna., December 24, 1939. He joined the Society in 1927.

Edgar T. Yeisley

was born in Easton, Penna., February 22, 1883. He died in Tatamy, Penna., February 21, 1941. He joined the Society in 1937.

George Allen Chandler

was born in Johnstown, Penna., September 8, 1858. He died in Wilmington, Delaware, December 7, 1941. He joined the Society in 1918.

Harry Wilbur

was born in Bethlehem, Penna., February 19, 1866. He died in Bethlehem, Penna., May 27, 1942. He joined the Society in 1916.

William Henry

was born in Easton, Penna., August 29, 1853. He died in Haddonfield, N. J., July 8, 1942. He joined the Society in 1918.

The Hon. Russell C. Stewart

was born in Easton, Penna., September 2, 1859. He died in Easton, Penna., February 5, 1942. A prominent counsellor at law, he was President Judge of the Court of Common Pleas of Northampton County, Penna., for many years. He joined the Society in 1920.

William H. Winterrowd

was born in Hope, Indiana, April 2, 1884. He died in Philadelphia, Penna., December 7, 1941. He joined the Society in 1925.

Mrs. Joanna S. Buffam

was born in ....., February 22, 1860. She died in Mt. Airy, Philadelphia, Penna., ————, 1942. She joined the Society in 1929.

William H. Minnich

was born in Easton, Penna., March 7, 1862. He died in Easton, Penna., March 6, 1942. He joined the Society in 1925.

Albert G. Rau, Ph.D., L.H.D., LL.D.

was born in Bethlehem, Penna., August 7, 1868. He died in Bethlehem, Penna., February 23, 1942. Dr. Rau was deeply interested in the Society and consistently active in the promotion of its main objectives. For many years, he served as a Vice President of the Society and was an active member of its Publication Committee. He was a man of versatile gifts, widely esteemed as educator, lecturer, historian, and musician. He was best known as Dean of Moravian College for Men. In course of a long and successful career, he was associated with many boards and commissions in church and community, where his participation in any matter meant access of interest and the prevailing of wise counsel. He was an honored member of various learned societies.

As a historian, he was untiring in his search for facts. And he was shrewd in his estimate of their values in relation to each other, even as he was capable of bringing out their meaning against the background into which they severally fitted. He appreciated the significance of detail in local and personal history as seen in reference to broader trends and movements in the march of events to which the details belonged. All of this is borne out in the various papers he presented at successive annual meetings of the Society as well as in his valuable contributions to its published "Transactions". He joined the Society in 1888.

PAUL BERNARD DESCHWEINITZ

was born in Richmond, Staten Island, N. Y., February 23, 1853. He died in Bethlehem, Penna., May 20, 1942. He joined the Society in 1888.

HARRY CLAYTON SELDOMRIDGE

was born in Leacock Township, Lancaster County, Penna., May 8, 1857. He died in Lititz, Penna., October 2, 1940. He joined the Society in 1934.

THE REV. P. A. LAURY, D.D.

was born in Lower Saucon Township, Northampton County, Penna,. December 28, 1865. He died in Bethlehem, Penna., June 8, 1942. He joined the Society in 1922.

THE HON. JAMES M. YEAKLE

was born in Bethlehem, Penna., March 26, 1860. He died in Bethlehem, Penna., December 23, 1941. He was the second mayor of the City of Bethlehem, serving for two terms. He joined the Society in 1916.

HENRY J. MEYERS

was born in Bethlehem, Penna., October 27, 1865. He died in Bethlehem, Penna., October 31, 1942. He was, for many years, a member of the Publication Committee of the Society. He joined the Society in 1902.

MISS ELIZABETH D. BURROWS

was born in Mt. Airy, New Jersey, August 12, 1862. She died in Bethlehem, Penna., June 9, 1943. She joined the Society in 1920.

MRS. M. ALICE LEOPOLD

was born in Nazareth, Penna., March 23, 1866. She died in Nazareth, Penna., December 30, 1942. She joined the Society in 1907.

Miss Laura Jordan Bell

was born in Philadelphia, Penna., February 22, 1857. She died in Philadelphia, Penna., June 28, 1943. She joined the Society in 1868.

The Rev. Samuel C. Albright, A.M.

was born in Lancaster, Penna., April 9, 1875. He died in Roselle, New Jersey, February 15, 1943. He is remembered by members of the Society as the author of the informative "Story of the Moravian Congregation at York, Pennsylvania." He joined the Society in 1936.

Albert O. Sturgis

was born in Lititz, Penna., October 22, 1868. He died in Nazareth, Penna., August 12, 1943. He was, for many years, a member of the Graveyard Committee of the Society. He joined the Society in 1892.

Mrs. Frank Wentzel

was born in Bethlehem, Penna., March 25, 1866. She died in Bethlehem, Penna., December 12, 1943. She joined the Society in 1908.

Miss Elizabeth Richardson

was born at Washington, D. C., July 16, 1897. She died in Pottstown, Penna., March 24, 1943. She joined the Society in 1941.

Chester Schmoyer

was born in Macungie, Penna., July 12, 1899. He died in Nazareth, Penna., October 12, 1942. He joined the Society in 1939.

History of the Text Book of the Moravian Church

Being the Scripture "Watchwords" and "Doctrinal Texts" from the Moravian Almanac, 1877, published by Herman Lange

Translated by W. N. Schwarze

Who would not know from experience the disposition of mind which, quite peculiar to January 1, is difficult of closer definition, since it originates in most varied conditions, the temper of mind we are accustomed, in short, to think of as the new year's disposition? A predominant element of this temper of mind is, without doubt, the disquieting feeling coming once again into consciousness of the changeful, unresting flight of time, as also the revived sense of human frailty, which, subjected in helplessness to change, is not even capable of penetrating its vicissitudes with understanding, much less of making them serviceable to the purposes of mankind. But even before this mood has befallen us and while we are still within the course of the old year, a bright, cheerful throng has come forward to meet us, the chief mission of which is to counteract this new year's disposition. "The matter of not foreseeing and not foreknowing is not as serious as it appears," these calendars cry out to us. "Entrust yourselves to our guidance; we will tell you without fail when, during the coming year, you will see an eclipse of the sun or of the moon, on what days the church festivals fall and much more; indeed, our colleague, a century old, though of somewhat doubtful repute, undertakes to predict for you the weather, even to the day."

Amid this whole host of calendars, which has grown in number from year to year, but with all the fine promises has doubtless not attained its purpose with us, there appeared, unique for probably a whole century, a far more serious publication. It is serious not only because it addressed itself to the religious nature of man but serious mainly because it regarded human life from a serious and stern viewpoint. Its name indicates that it is here only for those who reflect upon human life seriously and

earnestly, who see in it nought but uninterrupted struggle. For the name of the publication sounds strangely warlike, and indeed consistently and constantly warlike whether war or peace prevails on earth; it is called *Loosung,* Watchword (or Daily Word).[1] Every year the watchword summons to untiring combat. Generations come and go, but ever and again combatants appear who make the watchword their watchword, who call it out to one another, strengthen themselves in it, recognize by it friend and foe.

It will soon be a century and a half since the first Watchwords of the Moravian Church appeared (1729). The Watchwords have, therefore, their history. They have not always taken the same form in which they appear today, and a consideration of their development may here follow as a contribution toward knowledge of the literature of the Moravian Church.

The beginning of the Watchwords does not coincide with that of the modern Moravian Church. The former had their start some years later, how many can not now be determined with certainty. The first fragment of Watchwords, still preserved for us, comes from the year 1729 and extends from January 1 to September 14.

The Moravians who founded Herrnhut had sprung from a people which, for a full century, had been obliged to feel the heavy and bloody scourge of the Counter Reformation. Small wonder that these Moravians were accustomed to look upon life from its serious and grievous aspects! Had they never been secure for a moment in their homeland against unlooked for seizure by a cruel lord of the manor, who might have them haled to his castle there to torment them to the blood? Had they been accustomed to seek satisfaction for their deepest, heartfelt needs in secret meetings, never safe, threatened by dangers on all sides? Small wonder that life in general, and the Christian life in particular, presented itself to them as struggle, as striving unto blood. As soldiers of Christ who must withdraw before violence, they left their fatherland and with it often rich possessions. As

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[1] The German word *Loosung,* now spelled *Losung,* signifies among other meanings a signal agreed upon, countersign, watchword, password, and figuratively rallying cry.

a colony of soldiers of Christ they settled in Saxony under the direct watch of their Lord and Leader, Christ; they no longer had an earthly lord. As expatriates they were without a home.

The conflict of this warrior-colony concerned, however, not first of all the world without them, but, at least until 1732, from which year onward the missionary enterprise was regarded ever more exclusively as the objective of warfare, one fought primarily the enemy in one's own inner life and within the congregation itself. This purpose was served by the hourly intercessors, who were, so to speak, the hourly mounted guard of the warrior colony. This purpose was served also by the Watchwords.

Their origin was the following. A brother was commissioned to pay house-to-house visits in Herrnhut every morning. In connection with these visits he encouraged and strengthened the brethren and sisters to watchfulness and faithful endurance. "In order to bring the house visit into favor and make it significant," so it is said[2], "the Count (Zinzendorf) found it a good thing to write down a verse (of Scripture or a moral maxim) or hymn stanza for each day of the week." These were wrapped singly in a small box and entrusted to the elder of the congregation. The brother who was charged with the visiting of the day called first upon the elder, who permitted him to draw one of the cards with the content of which the visitor greeted all the members in their homes.

Later (1730) the Watchword for the following day was always announced at the song service of the previous evening, explained in a brief address or by the singing of some hymn stanzas and then taken to the homes on the following morning. Christian David writes as follows concerning the matter[3]: "We seek to know one another daily through the Moravian Watchword, what manner of spirit we are, in order that we may know whether any one is friend or foe, whether he is of our mind or not, whether he is with us and striving consistently or against us; as such a watchword (password) is customary on battlefields in war time

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[2] See *Collection of the Watchwords and Doctrinal Texts of the Moravian Church from 1731-1761*, Barby, 1762, Volume I, Introduction, page 10.

[3] *Beschreibung und zuverlässige Nachricht von Herrnhut*, Leipzig, 1735, pages 68ff.

in order to recognize one another. And since now we have attacked the princes of darkness and are in combat with the outer and the inner world, it is very necessary to be armed with one and the same mind, to stand unitedly and concertedly for the same principles, to assail the might of darkness with forces in close ranks so that we may draw the kingdom of God to ourselves and not cause hindrance to the gospel whether among ourselves or among others. The manner of our Watchword procedure is the following: we select either a verse from the Bible or a stanza of a hymn that is best suited to our condition or our guidance. This verse or stanza for the day is first explained, the previous evening after the service of song, by the Count himself or some other brother, and, on the following morning, carried from house to house in all of Herrnhut by a brother appointed so to serve, and this on all days. Then throughout the day, wherever brethren or sisters meet in their several callings, there is conversation about the Watchword, in order that we may continue in the spirit of true self-control and self-examination. Hence if some one is not of our disposition and does not strive consistently this is soon manifest, since the verses and the stanzas are ever directed to our condition. And so we seek all through the day to strive consistently against the enemies, such as pride, covetousness, lust, self-assurance, remissness, indolence and the like, and day by day we call to one another through the Brethren's Watchword, 'Hold that fast which thou hast, that no man take thy crown.' ''

The form of these first Watchwords was the briefest possible, drawn from the Bible or even more frequently from the hymnal, but not, as later, from both Bible and hymnal.

As illustration several Watchwords from the above mentioned fragment of 1729 are here given. The Watchword for January 10 was

To dwell ever before Thine eyes is true happiness.

Jan. 26. *The simplicity of Christ secures the soul against the turmoil of the world.*

Feb. 12. *For the temple of God is holy, which temple ye are.* I Corinthians 3: 17.

Feb. 15. *They that sow in tears shall reap in joy.* Psalm 126:5.

Mar. 5. *Grant me, O my Redeemer,*
The vision of Thy grace!

THIS COVER WITH NOTHING BUT THE YEAR CHANGED IS FAMILIAR TO THOUSANDS OF READERS

There is no trace of a book of Watchwords of the following year, 1730; it is possible that the Watchwords for 1729 were used again. At any rate they were not yet printed, for they appeared in print for the first time in 1731. Thus the Watchwords entered upon a new stage of their history. Therewith the step was taken from a beautiful custom to a comparatively fixed churchly institu-

tion, though still in the process of development. Henceforth the book of Watchwords was issued annually with, as we shall see, a title adapted to the condition and need of the congregation at any particular time. With a degree of justification the year 1731 could be given as the date of the beginning of the Watchwords.

The Watchwords for this year bear the title "A Good Spirit as the Daily Life of Abundance of the Congregation of the Cross of Christ at Herrnhut in the Year 1731 through Remembrance of the Eternal Truths. New every Morning." Zinzendorf dedicated the booklet to the "Most serene Princess Sophia Hedewig, Royal Hereditary Princess of Denmark, Norway, etc.," as he states in the dedication, because of the friendly reception with which the Brethren had met who were sent to the Danish court in 1727. "As we did not know," so writes Zinzendorf concerning the Watchwords in general in this introduction, "what circumstances we should meet on each day, we committed it to Providence to choose the Watchword belonging to each day. Here the Watchwords appear in a form somewhat different from that of 1729, in that they consist almost exclusively of Bible verses to which, at least frequently, a strophe from the hymnal is subjoined. Thus, for example, the Watchword for

Jan. 17. *Let us fall into the hands of the Lord; for his mercies are great. II Samuel 24:14. Wir fall'n in Deine Gnaden-Hände, und bitten mit dem Glaubenskuss, gerechter König, wende, wende die Gnade zu der Herzens-buss. Wir sind gerecht durch Deine Wunden, und ist nichts Sträflichs mehr allhier: sind aber wir verwöhnt mit Dir, so halt uns Dir auch stets verbunden.*[4]

Feb. 3. *Der Wille merk auf Dein Geheiss, und fördre Deines Namens Preis.* [5]*John 4:34.*

Feb. 28. *If thou wouldest believe, thou shouldest see the glory of God. John 11:40. Ach lehre uns trauen dem Vater-Sinn, und sehnende schauen zum Sohne hin.*[6]

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[4] We fall into Thy hands of grace, and pray with the kiss of faith, O righteous King, transform grace to penitence of heart. We are justified through Thy wounds, and nought blameworthy remains; are we greatly comforted in Thee, hold us to Thyself fast bound.

[5] May the will await Thy bidding and further the praise of Thy name.

[6] O, teach us to trust the Father's mind, and look with longing to the Son.

Mar. 11. *Du kannst mit sehr wenig Blicken millionenmal erquicken, wirf auch einen Blick auf uns.*[7] *Matthew 19:66, Luke 1:48, Luke 22:61, Mark 9:34, Psalm 24:6.*

From these few examples we can see clearly the difference between these Watchwords and those of 1729. Not only do words of Scripture preponderate over hymn stanzas, but also when the latter are employed there is the effort to support them with Scripture quotations, often in generous number. We may discern therein an approach to the later usage of assignment of daily Scripture lessons, the purpose of which was the same, promotion of knowledge of the Scriptures. For here is unmistakably manifested a second significance which the Watchwords gradually acquired. They were to be not only passwords of the Brethren in the conflict with sin within and without them, but they were also to introduce the Word of Scripture into the daily life and thereby effect an embodiment of that Word in daily life. This signification becomes ever more prominent, and in this direction particulary the Watchwords developed further.

The Watchwords for the years 1732-1735 in their structure conformed, in the main, to those of 1731.

The Watchwords for 1736 differ from the foregoing in that they were drawn exclusively from the four Gospels. They therefore deserve special mention, because later in a historical survey of the Moravian Church[8] they are characterized as the first Text Book. The texts (Doctrinal Texts) appear to the present day joined to our Watchwords, and it is necessary that we dwell somewhat upon them in connection with their first appearance.

As to their historic appearance and their outer relationship to the Watchwords in general, such a booklet of texts did not, by far, appear every year from 1736 onward. If it did appear it took the place altogether of the Watchwords in the respective year so that the latter did not appear. Or it took its place independently beside the Watchwords. After Zinzendorf's death, the Watchwords for children took the place of the texts (Doctrinal Texts) more and more; and more and more regularly there ap-

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[7] Thou canst with gracious regard grant manifold quickening grace, cast a merciful glance on us.

[8] See *Nova Acta Historico-ecclesiastica*, Volume 1, page 994.

peared from year to year a book of Watchwords for adults and one for children, which very generally it was the custom to bind together and use together. In the Watchwords for 1763 the title of the Watchwords for children was changed, and this second collection then received the title, "Doctrinal Texts of the Moravian Church and, *in Particular, for Children.*" Finally, in 1771, "The Daily Doctrinal Texts of the Moravian Church." Thus, on purely external consideration, our present doctrinal texts did not really originate in the Texts of the Zinzendorfian period, but rather in the texts for children. However they took to themselves again the special character and the peculiar marks of the former, so that regarded from the standpoint of content they must be looked upon as a continuation of them (the Texts of the Zinzendorfian period).

In content the Watchwords are distinguished from the Doctrinal Texts in that the former are taken from the Old, the latter from the New Testament. In manner of selection, according to accepted practice, the former are *drawn* (as by lot) for the several days, the latter are *deliberately chosen,* differences which, disregarding a few exceptions, have been maintained from 1736 to the present time.

What does the term Doctrinal Texts signify, and why are they selected from the New Testament? This designation was introduced later, first in 1763. If we are not mistaken it was never used by Zinzendorf himself. He speaks only of "Texts of Scripture," "Biblical texts," "Texts of the Lamb," and employs the first two expressions quite in a general way for the Bible verses used as Watchwords or as Doctrinal Texts in the narrower sense. "Texts of the Lamb," or simply Texts, signify with him the texts in the narrower sense, which we are now accustomed to name Doctrinal Texts.

Manifestly, they were designated as Doctrinal Texts because by custom they served frequently as texts for instructive addresses to the congregation; since we know, however, that originally the Watchwords were utilized in a similar manner on the previous evening (see above), the later word Doctrinal Texts does not reproduce exhaustively the original significance and purpose of the texts.

A text is, indeed, primarily a word of Scripture containing the theme of a religious address. But in place of the expository address life itself may serve as further commentary. As is well known, it was a favorite idea of Zinzendorf's that we in our life are to effect a presentation (in performance) of the life of Jesus. This idea is the basis, too, of the choir system. Surely and very properly, we may find it again in these Texts. The characterization of these collections of verses as "Texts" and "Texts of the Lamb" has, therefore, without doubt, this meaning. In the daily texts is prescribed for the brother the daily content of his daily life.

His *life* is to be the commentary, the sermon, the *Gemeinstunde* (the congregation meditation) for the texts. Hence these could be taken only from the New Testament, since it is the duty of the Christian to present in his own life the life of Christ. And therefore they need not be drawn by lot as in the case of the Watchwords. For if they were to be the theme texts for the life of the brother, they must needs, for example, take account of the church and congregation festivals and memorial days, etc. Should the life of the brother not be such that it could be the immediate exposition of the Texts, then the latter stood in contrast to his life. This must of necessity teach him that his life is no longer according to proper design and what it would be necessary for him to do in order that it might again be more like the life of Jesus. They must, in that case, be Doctrinal Texts (instruction texts).

A confirmation of the development of this whole idea may possibly be found in Zinzendorf's beautiful hymn, in which this same thought is followed through!

Die Thränen des Immanuel
Sind der Gemeine Text
Je mehr zur Heimath unsrer Seel'
Der Seelen He'mweh wächst, u. s. w.[9]

—Kleines Brüdergesangbuch, 328

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[9]The tears of our Immanuel
The Church's texts remain;
The more t'wards our birthplace we feel,
As souls a longing pain, etc.

Tr. Anon., *A Collection of Hymns of the Children of God of all Ages, from the Beginning until now. In two parts. Designed chiefly for the Use of the Congregation in Union with the Brethren's Church.* London, 1754, Part II, Number 310.

See, also, the Zeyst Synodal addresses of Zinzendorf (1746), the fifty-first, and of the London sermons, Volume II, Part VI, the eighth sermon.

We return now to the Watchwords, since we would consider the Text Books in particular, together with the Watchwords, according to the time of their appearance. The next following Watchwords are those for 1737, which bear the title, "The Ancient Evangelist Isaiah, in the year 1737, for the Congregations of the Cross and the Servants of Jesus at Herrnhut, in Greenland, St. Croix, in Vogtland, Lapland, etc., on Pilgrim Journeys by Land and Sea, in Prisons, etc., Divided in Portions for Daily Use." These show no new development in the history of the Watchwords. As the title indicates, they are drawn exclusively from the Book of Isaiah.

For the year 1738 there appeared instead of a book of Watchwords a table referring to the Watchwords of 1737 which retained the verses therein contained but ordered them for other days in the following manner:

1738	January 1	1737	October 9
"	January 2	"	September 18
"	January 3	"	November 9, etc.

Whether the Watchwords for 1738 were printed in full, in addition to this table, is not known to us.

The Watchwords for 1739 were Zinzendorf's parting gift to the congregation before leaving on his perilous journey to the West Indies. The introduction is dated on board the ship *St. Martin,* before Texel, December 17, 1738. It is a short and beautiful expression alike of his love for his brethren and of his joyous witness spirit. Therefore, it may here follow, although it affords no immediate contribution to the history of the Watchwords.

The title is worded, "The Good Word of the Lord, 1739, from all the Prophets. For His Congregations and Servants at Herrnhut, Herrnhaag, Herrendyk, Pilgerruh, etc., on Visitation with the Messengers to the Heathen and otherwise on Land and Sea."

"Dear Brethren and Sisters! I have completed for you the Watchwords for the coming year before my departure on the

journey to the heathen. What shall I say to you! I am your brother, your unworthy fellow member. I stand abashed before my Saviour, that He has brought me to you.

"It is said that to make a poet and a painter wealthy is a wonder; but to make a painter who is at the same time a poet wealthy is among men impossible."[10]

"I find in my circumstances three impossibilities for me to be a disciple, which no human being could have lifted.

"For a person of rank by himself to become a disciple is as impossible as is clear in the light of day.

"For a person of rank who is a student of secular knowledge, and must occupy himself with courts and governments, it must, indeed, be somewhat more difficult. But a person of rank who has been treated by the pious and the impious, as it has gone with me in the world, needs no less a support than that of the unconquerable mystery of the merits of Jesus and of true discipleship, set forth through the congregation, in order to go straight forward and not to turn to the left through one or another opening. The Lord has preserved me in my strength. This is small but devoted to a congregation from which I have it. I go with it among the heathen. When I return I shall bring my part of it back with me and find the rest.

"Remain steadfast before the Lamb, who is yours and mine, and wish me and my companions good fortune on the journey, on which our brethren, who have traversed the seas in grace, through ten years have preceded me for more than a hundred times.

"I beg of my dear mother her intercessions. She has lost, in one year, two sons called out of this life. She can have no greater assurance concerning the life of her only remaining son than to know that he is in the service of the Lord, who need not give up the keys to the grave, if He would not.

"I greet you, my dear wife, and commend to you the office of serving the people of the Lord as my helpmeet with the grace that is vouchsafed me. I wish for you Simon's happiness and submission. Luke 5:8.

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[10] This sentence is not a part of the History of the Text Book, here translated, but is a part of the Introduction to the "Watchwords" of 1739.

"I see you, my children, on the way to true discipleship; remain thereon with willing hearts. Ask your oldest sister whether there is any happiness greater than that in Jesus' death. She would answer you 'that if she were seized with faintness and by chance something were voiced concerning the Cross she would be herself again.' And thus it is with her, that I know.

THIS HEADING HAS BECOME FAMILIAR TO AN EVER INCREASING NUMBER OF READERS IN THE ARMED SERVICES OF OUR COUNTRY.

"I honor you most fervently, all of the elect congregation, and will remember you in distant lands:

Denk du auch mit Sehnen
Und mit Freuden-Thränen
An die Zeugen-Wolk,
Die die Welt durchziehet,
Welche Niemand siehet
Als das Gnaden-Volk!

Seit mit ihr,
Wie sie mit dir,
O du bei dem Abend-scheine
Fröhliche Gemeine![11]

"Given on board the ship *St. Martin,* before Texel, December 17, 1738."

Over against the fine sentiment of these words a rather violent attack on the Watchwords of 1739 in a periodical[12] appearing at that time seems somewhat paltry. The attack concerned chiefly the title of this booklet of Watchwords, in which forty places where Brethren were to be found are enumerated.[13] The opponent reproaches Zinzendorf with wishing thereby not only to imitate the Apostle Peter (I Peter 1:1) but even to surpass him with the forty names over against the five in the case of Peter. Further he wonders "Why the Count had not taken thought, also, of the righteous, evangelical Salzburger at Ebenezer in Georgia and others."

Finally, in the discussion of the introduction, grave doubt is expressed whether Zinzendorf had really traveled to St. Thomas and had not possibly imagined the whole journey, as in the fol-

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[11] *Think, too, with longing*
And with tears of joy
On the cloud of witnesses,
Passing through the world,
And which no one sees
But the host of grace!
Be with her,
And she with Thee,
O thou in the evening-glow
Blessed congregation!

[12] *Acta Historico-ecclesiastica,* Volume IV, pages 224 ff.

[13] "The Good Word of the Lord 1739 from all Prophets for His Congregations and Servants" at Herrnhut, Herrnhaag, Herrendyk, Pilgerruh, Ebersdorf, Jena, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, London, Oxford, Berlin, Greenland, St. Croix, St. Thomas, St. Jan, Berbice, Palestine, Surinam, Savannah in Georgia, among the Negroes in Carolina, among the savages in Irene, in Pennsylvania, among the Hottentots, in Guinea, in Litvonia and Esthonia, Lithuania, Russia, along the White Sea, Lapland, in Norway, in Switzerland, Isle of Man, Shetland, in Prison, on the Journey to Ceylon, Ethiopia, Persia, on Visitation to the Messengers among the Heathen, and otherwise, on Land and Sea.

lowing year he had been seen in Germany. Such belittling and inane attacks characterize the morose disposition with which an old-grown church regarded the achievements of a younger and active church body.

For the year 1741 a similar printed table was issued for the Watchwords of 1739, as the one noted and described above for the Watchwords of 1737 and 1738. Yet the Watchwords for 1741 appear also in the form of a Watchwords booklet printed in full.

The booklet for 1740 bears the title, "The Lamb of God Presented to His Servants and Congregations in all their former and new Battlefields, alike in His Divine and in His Humbled and Exalted Human Form, in all the Revelations which His Prophets and Witnesses have had of Him." This booklet is perhaps more properly to be regarded as a book of Texts than as a book of Watchwords. We can not, indeed, decide whether the verses for the several days were *drawn* (according to the lot) or *deliberately chosen,* but, for one thing, the title seems to correspond more with the idea of Text Books. Further Zinzendorf in his description of the Watchwords does not name this book *Watchwords* but writes thereof, "In the year 1740 there intervened a booklet which bore the title, etc." (as above).

Of the Watchwords for 1742, entitled "Hope of Humble People from the Examples and Encouragements of the Scriptures, 1742," nothing is to be noted. The Watchwords of 1743 are, at most, worthy of note because they were worked out by John de Watteville and by him furnished with a brief introduction dated from "Small-Bethlehem on the Delaware in North America, on the Border of Heathendom, before departure on a Visit to various Nations of Savages, in the month of June, 1742."

More worthy of note are the Watchwords for 1744, "The Parole-of-Salvation of Him Who is God with us, that is the Open Passport of Disciples for the Year 1744. Thereon a Witness Ventures an Undertaking." In these, hymn stanzas are the real Watchwords, with one or more Scripture passages noted, distinguished by the excellent choice of beautiful and stirring stanzas. A hymn serves as introduction, the first strophe being,

Selige Gemein, der des Lammes Blut
Hält die Kleider reine! Diess dein höchstes Gut

Wird dir in den Worten wieder dargelegt,
Die man deiner Orten täglich vor dich trägt.[14]

The following examples may serve to illustrate these "Watchwords" for 1744.

Friday, January 3:

Lass unsre Kreuzes Zeugen
Sich frölich vor dir neigen,
Und vor des Stabes Herrlichkeit.[15]

Gen. 47:31, Heb. 11:21

Monday, January 6:

Sie steht noch heute die selige Gemein!
Erwählte Leute gehn täglich zu ihr ein.[16]

Acts 2:47

Wednesday, August 19:

Werd ich nicht bald deine sein,
Innig, heilig, unverdrossen,
Zugeschlossen
Vor dem Einfluss aller Spur
Der Natur.[17]

Rom. 7:22, 25

Sunday, December 6:

Achtet euch vor selig,
Wenn ihr der Leiden,
Welche vermengt sind mit Lammes Freuden
Gewürdigt seid.[18]

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[14] Blessed congregation, for which the blood of the Lamb
Preserves vesture unspotted! This thy highest good
Is in these words again to thee presented
That in thy places is daily to thee borne.

[15] May our witnesses of the Cross
Bow with joy before Thee,
And before the glory of Thy staff.

[16] The blessed congregation stands even today;
Elect souls find entrance day by day.

[17] Shall I not soon be Thine,
Devout, consecrated, patient,
Secure
Against the influence of every trace
Of nature.

[18] Count yourselves as blessed,
When of the sufferings,
Which are mingled with the joys of the Lamb,
Ye are deemed worthy.

The Watchwords for 1745 bear the title: "The Watchwords of the Pilgrims and Citizens of the Lord, 1745," which title was used again in 1746, for the same texts were employed, though differently arranged for the several days. Besides, there were in use for 1744 the Text Books, "The Gracious Words of the Dear Son, in Whom the Father had been well pleased; after He had been Sent forth and Went about in the Form of Sinful Flesh as I and Thou." And for 1745 there were even two Text Books, viz., "Characterization of God the Lamb for the Congregation, of which He is the Shepherd, taken from the Holy Scriptures as proof that He is not only God but, also, our Flesh and Blood. God was manifest in the Flesh. I Timothy 3:16" and a new unaltered edition of the Text Book of 1744. The second edition of the Watchwords of the Pilgrims and Citizens of the Lord, 1746, has for us particular value because of the appended table of all the festivals which the congregation observed, the number of which was comparatively large. It would take us too far to enter further upon that matter here. Suffice it to point out that that table, as well as those of the following years, is of great importance for a historical study of Moravian liturgics, as an independent and original development to its present status.

The point of development attained in these Watchwords has not been superseded in essential content in further issues. The various titles of these issues of the Watchwords (for successive years) are given in the table at the close.[19] But if development in content does not proceed further, it may with truth be said that development now heads in another direction. The book of Watchwords is gradually expanded in several phases so as to become a comprehensive devotional manual for the Moravian Church. This book generally bears the title "The Daily Handbook of the Brethren's (Moravian) Congregations" and is divided essentially into three parts, the Watchwords, the Doctrinal Texts and the Scripture Lessons. And there appear from time to time Watchwords for the Children, Watchwords for the Student

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[19] See Herman Lange *Brüder-Almanach. Kalender für die evangelische Brüdergemeine und ihre Diaspora, auf das gemeine Jahr 1877.* Neusalz a/o. 1876. (Copy in the Malin Library of Moravian Literature, Archives of the Moravian Church, Bethlehem, Penna.)

Youth (with Scripture verses in Greek and Hebrew), Liturgical Texts, etc.

In consideration of these handbooks we must proceed in a somewhat more general fashion, in order to secure above all a comprehensive view of these books which appeared under the most varied titles. This encounters certain difficulties, because these books were not worked out according to a fixed pattern but were fitted as much as possible to the particular needs of the time. Of the above named three divisions under which the various parts of these handbooks may be summed up the first two are now known to us as the Watchwords and the Doctrinal Texts. What are the Lessons?

From an early time in his life Zinzendorf had occupied himself with exhaustive and ardent study of the Scriptures. It had been, from the beginning, his earnest endeavor to conduct the brethren ever deeper into the understanding and the life of the Scriptures. This purpose was served exclusively by his translation of the New Testament, which is often more a paraphrase than a translation and is intended so to be, since frequently its purpose is to supply at the same time an exposition of the Word of Scripture. This effort was attacked with great violence by many theologians of the Lutheran Church, since the language was regarded as irreverent and unworthy of the subject matter. Zinzendorf defended himself. He did not wish in any way to detract from Luther's translation nor to have it set aside. On the contrary, he valued it so highly that through his own work he desired only to prepare for it good ground and understanding. Whatever one may think of this translation and the dispute it engendered, so much at any rate appears therefrom that Zinzendorf, quite in harmony with his insisting upon heart religion, strove also to bring about the most devout possible attitude toward the Scriptures and single hearted understanding of the same.[20]

How might he better attain his purpose, thorough knowledge of the Scriptures on the part of the brethren, than by giving

[20] Of this striving testify his later biblical works which he continued without interruption to the end of his life and had as their goal the translation of the Old Testament; but with this he did not get beyond the Pentateuch.

them the same to read in daily lessons? These lessons are analagous to the present day Bible reading lists, except that they were printed together in one book and generally worded in the Zinzendorf translation.

We content ourselves with mentioning here the most important of those books of Lessons, as there is not much to be noted concerning them in detail. Moreover the transition from the text books to the lesson books may not always be sharply distinguished, as single texts are sometimes quite comprehensive and, again, the individual lessons appear occasionally in short verse form.

The first book of this nature appeared in 1755 and was entitled "The Words of the Book for the Congregation, Part II, complete in five Annual Series." The first annual series, 1755, included 365 texts from the Book of Genesis. These were nearly all only short texts with successively running numbers. At the close of the book a table was appended, in which the number of one of these verses was fixed for each day. In the introduction for this series Zinzendorf states that "for some thirty years he had worked against a repeatedly still unrecognized sin; the preaching to the death of souls with the dear Bible."

He means thereby that along with very great veneration there is yet limited understanding of the Scriptures and imperfect obedience as prevalent in the orthodoxy of his time, when Scripture was mainly an arsenal for dogmatic disputes and faith was generally very superficial. The Roman Church, he continues, had with good intention, beyond a doubt, wished to prevent this by making the Scriptures difficult of access to the layman; but this was surely not the right procedure. Therefore he had tried to introduce the Scripture into the life and understanding of the congregation, unconcerned by the charges that he had disesteemed the Scripture and was preparing it to suit his own taste. "Praise be to God! Much is thereby won and the little of good repute that is thereby lost (for we are described as people who do not love God's Word) may well be borne, if in the meantime we become a living Bible. Thus the judgment of a human day is not the first thing nor the greatest. For to God we are well known, and perhaps in due time we shall be likewise understood in the moral judgment of our opponents."

Then he gives a brief survey of the Watchwords and the Text Books which had appeared from 1729 to 1755 and continues, "I find, however, that my favorite Book is thereby so little exhausted that I must resolve upon dividing the remainder into annual series, of which I offer you, this time, the first, viz., the Book of Genesis. The 365 texts are most conveniently distributed over the days, although one may not designate them as really watchwords, nor as a sequence of texts, nor be able to bring them under any other hitherto known rubric. It is the remaining letter and spirit of Scripture, in small parts, served for the nourishment of my people."

In 1756, '57 and '58, the next three of the annual series appeared, drawn from the historical books of the Old Testament up to the time of the division of the kingdom and from the Book of Job. These first four annual series do not distinguish themselves in respect to length from the texts. Only the last for 1758 constitutes a transition to the lessons proper, in that here, along with the short verses, longer Scripture passages appear (for April 26, I Samuel 17:31-37; for June 7, I Samuel 25:18-20, 23-25, 27, 30, 31; for June 11, I Samuel 26:5-21, etc.).

The fifth annual series appeared in 1759, "144 Lessons for the days January 1 to May 24 from the Remaining Historical Books of Solomon to the Building of the second Temple." Here the Lessons are still longer and bear no more a resemblance to the Watchwords or the Doctrinal Texts (for April 12, Daniel 6:1-29; for April 14, Daniel 9:1-26, etc.).

Simultaneously with these Words of the Book there appeared another series of books of lessons, which had for subject matter the New Testament. The first of these was issued in 1758, "The History of the Days of the Son of Man on Earth in Daily Lessons from Christmas Eve, 1758 to Ascension Day, 1759." This is the first significant edition preparing the way for the Harmony of the Gospels story (*Passion Week Manual*) still in use among us during the Passion Week.

In 1759 there appeared the following three books belonging in this same category:

(1) "Memorial Verses concerning His present Activity for us, where He now is. In Lessons for the Days from Ascension Day

to Whitsunday, 1759." This book contains various passages from the Epistles of the New Testament, especially from the Epistle to the Hebrews, for example the two lessons, Hebrews 8:1, 2-6, 10-13, and 9:8, 9.

(2) "Biblical Reports of the Early Church from the Book of Acts. In Daily Lessons from Whitsunday through the Trinity Season, 1759."

(3) "Something of the Spirit of Prophecy uttered in the Days of the Son of Man as also in the first Apostolic Period and arranged for Daily Lessons in the Advent Season from December 2-22, 1759." This book contains lessons from the Gospels and the Epistles.

As belonging in this same connection, mention may here be made of the pamphlet which is entitled "Last Bible work in the Old Testament by the sainted Ordinarius Fratrum, Herrnhut, July 12, 1760." This includes a translation of Genesis and Exodus, which is worked out in like fashion as the earlier bequest of Zinzendorf, as a memorial note indicates, which begins, "Thus far the sainted Ordinarius had completed this work when his and our Lord called him to Himself to rest from all his labors and to enter into the everlasting joy."

So these words characterized this period; so likewise, the home going of Zinzendorf, that eminent man of God, greatly affected the history of the Moravian Church in general. So, also, for the history of the Watchwords this period had great significance, in that our Books of Watchwords suddenly assumed quite another form.

We have seen how the books of Daily Watchwords had their origin in the custom of distributing daily, in Old Herrnhut, warrior watchwords. In process of time the Text Books were added, the Daily Watchwords for Children, etc., until finally out of these—in the last years before Zinzendorf's death—a fine "Handbooklet of the Moravian Church" had developed. It may now have become historically necessary that the result of this development should gradually assume fixed form and become an institution. But if we compare the thin booklets of Daily Watchwords of the following years with the handbooklet of 1759, the question spontaneously forces itself upon us, Was this the total result of

thirty years of work and development? From 1760 onward the form of the booklet of Daily Watchwords is essentially the same as it is today. We have, indeed, above specified by name the further changes which apply to the titles of the Texts. As far as the other titles of the handbooklet of 1759 are concerned, they have indeed experienced a further special elaboration. So have a part of the New Testament Lessons, the History of the Days of the Son of Man, still in use among us to the present day. One may see, perhaps, in Risler's "Abstract from the Old Testament" a continuation of the lessons drawn from the Old Testament. The great difference consisted only in this that all this was no Daily Handbooklet for the congregation, and that its members no longer received the biblical material in daily lessons. Our Daily Watchwords Booklet experienced its last changes at the beginning of the sixties of the present century [the nineteenth century] in that the Watchwords and the Texts, up to that time printed in separate booklets, were now printed together for each day in one volume. Besides, the table of Scripture passages appearing for each year since 1848 was added as an appendix to this volume of the "Daily Watchwords and Doctrinal Texts." Thus, after more than a century, there was again a handbooklet similar to the one of 1759, consisting of daily watchwords, doctrinal texts and Bible lessons.

Our "Daily Watchwords and Doctrinal Texts" are now in other Christian circles, beyond our church, a widely disseminated book, as the large annual edition of 50,000 copies proves. Of these 50,000 copies about 40,000 are printed in the German, about 6,000 in the English, about 5,000 in the French, about 600 in the Negro English, and a still smaller number in the Swedish language.[21]

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[21] These are the figures for 1877. The corresponding data for 1943 are as follows:

"The Text Book, until the middle of the nineteenth century, was used almost exclusively in the Moravian Church; but in the last decades it has been valued by very many members of other churches. At present 236,000 copies are printed for Germany and German speaking Switzerland; 13,000 for French Switzerland and France; 7,000 for America; 3,950 for the British Isles and West Indies; 4,400 for Denmark; 52,000 for Sweden; 14,000 for Finland; 1,600 for Czecho-Slovakia; 650 for Hol-

In conclusion a few brief remarks may follow concerning employment and use of the "Daily Watchwords and the Doctrinal Texts." It is a well known usage in our U.E.C. (Unity's Elders Conference), as well as in the Elders Conferences of the individual congregations, before the Vigils service on New Year's Eve to draw from the new book of "Daily Watchwords and Doctrinal Texts" watchwords in view of the enterprises of the Unity or even of individual persons. This is done in the belief that the Saviour, in the case of the former, would indicate to us viewpoints for their conduct according to His will. Further, we read in the biographical sketches of departed members of the church, that often the watchword of the day or one found by the deliberate opening of the book (at random) has worked decisively on the shaping of their outer life. In some cases it has led them to remove from place to place, and in others it has influenced them to remain. Doubtless, in other respects, the Watchwords continue to be used in this direction. From the beginning of our Renewed Church there have not been wanting attacks against this usage, as indeed against our use of the lot. Such attacks often are made on the part of men whom we as Christians must hold in high regard, for example, in the last century [the eighteenth century]

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land; 6,900 for Surinam and South Africa. There is also an edition in Norwegian, in Esthonian, in Polish, in Hungarian and in Ukrainian—altogether in thirteen European languages.

"Thirteen missionary languages are also represented. In South Africa, Afrikaans, Souto, Ovambo, Xosa and Sechwana; in Kynyamwesi for the Unyamwesi people; in Kisuaheli for the region of Lake Nyasa; in Eskimo for the people of Labrador; in Miskito for the Nicaragua Indians; for the Bush Negroes in Surinam; also in Chinese, Japanese, and for the Kols in India—the last three are used in non-Moravian missions.

"The total number of languages is therefore twenty-six.

"The number of readers of the little volume can not be stated even approximately.

"The Moravian Church considers it a great favor, received from the Lord, that by the yearly issue of this book it may contribute in ever so small degree to the fulfilment of the Saviour's prayer 'that they all may be one.' May all who use the book this year, find it a source of daily strengthening, and a bond of peace, and of union!" See *The Text Book of the Moravian Church*, being the Scripture Watchwords and Doctrinal Texts for the Year 1943. Introduction, pages 3, 4.

the theologian, Bengel, of Württemberg. So much is to be maintained over against these attacks, may the individual think thereof as he will, that such usages become immediately objectionable so soon as they are no longer a matter of conviction on the part of those practicing them and so soon as they are no longer rooted in faith but in superstition. However, since here in a historical presentation it can not be our task to enter upon a doctrinal discussion of these customs, we will present only Zinzendorf's views on this point according to an example related by himself.

That Zinzendorf personally was firmly convinced that the Saviour often availed Himself of the Watchwords in order to make known His will to His children we see, for example, from the thirty-fifth of the Zeyst Synodal Addresses (1746), where there appears the following statement:

"The Word of the Saviour for today has historically and economically certain significance. It was the determining factor in the fate of a congregation ten years ago. 'They need not depart; give ye them to eat,' Mark 6:37. The time then was critical for this congregation, and there was no human prospect that it could be continued. A great and important conference was held concerning the dividing up of the congregation for its exile, since one could foresee nothing other; for it was known that there was to be absolute annihilation and destruction of all institutions involved, according to the plan of the investigation. When, indeed, such mighty and powerful hand threatens, for lords of that type consider well what they speak and write and do not threaten unless they have taken measures, it is impossible to reflect upon anything but the execution of these measures. There was, consequently, nothing else to be done but plan for a convenient departure of our brethren and sisters, considering that either the settlement would be secured in its divine rights (which appeared to be impossible) or that all houses would be left empty, as really occurred at another settlement.

"The Watchword of the conference day was 'They need not depart; give ye them to eat,' continue ye now in your work; continue in serving the material institution and in the feeding of souls with the food which nourishes for eternal life and that gives strength for life eternal.

"That was their instruction, as they were already listing the people how they should follow one another in leaving from week to week; and in our conferences on arrangements there was discussion as to how we should receive them.

"Then, at the right time and hour, certainty came to their hearts. They should now *not* leave! In that congregation the investigation had been completed, and they knew, therefore, where they stood. But we at another place did not yet know it; only several weeks later did we receive tidings thereof.

"Now, at the first, there was but the one congregation, and therefore the Watchwords were applicable to but that *one* congregation. In the same month they were directed point for point, word for word, to the conditions prevailing at the time, and therefore we were asked whether (in the instance here related) the Watchwords had not been arranged for this particular situation, when it was learned that these [for 1736] had already been printed in Nuremberg in 1735, and thus surely at a time when it was not yet known that it would happen as narrated above. Then they were greatly impressed."

This one instance, rather than many, may suffice. It is not intended to prove anything, whether for the one view or the other. It is merely to represent Zinzendorf's view, as it manifestly was formed for him on the basis of historical facts.

Whether we agree with this view or not, it does not at any rate involve the first or the main significance of the Watchwords. We have seen that even their name reminds us of a conflict; be it concerning the conflict with sin within and about one, or the struggle for the kingdom of God, we are called by them to struggle and conflict again and again. To the present day, a booklet of "Watchwords and Doctrinal Texts" appears every year. May the daily Watchword be the password (parole) that determines our living and striving, that one brother calls out to another! May the daily Doctrinal Text be the daily motto of our life, so that whoever has anything to do with us may not be able more aptly to characterize our life and its sustaining and driving fundamental principles than through the daily Doctrinal Text.

(NOTE.—As shown in the history of what is now known as "The Text Book of the Moravian Church," being the "Scriptural Watch-

words" and "Doctrinal Texts," Zinzendorf assembled the materials for this devotional manual, in the various forms in which it appeared, during the experimental period of more than three decades. By the end of that time, this publication, one of the oldest manuals of worship of Protestantism, had acquired the fixed pattern now familiar to many thousands of readers. After the death of Zinzendorf, 1760, the compilation thereof was committed to the Directing Board of the Moravian Church Unity, whose seat is at Herrnhut, Saxony, Germany. This Board, in charge of the matter down to 1877, when the historical account here presented in translation was written, has been continuously responsible for the Text Book to the present day.

Details of method in the compilation have been, for many years, according to the following procedure. Members of the Directing Board or its Executive Committee meet, with adequate secretarial assistance, usually on a day in the week between Christmas and New Year for the drawing of the Watchwords. The drawing of these Watchwords is for a year in advance, or even two years in advance, so that there may be ample time for the rest of the work of compilation and that the booklet may be ready for use with the beginning of the year for which it is intended at even the remotest outpost of Moravian activity. The meeting of the members of the Directing Board is opened with an appropriate devotional service, and then the Watchword for each day of the year under consideration is drawn from a vessel which contains a large selection of Old Testament texts that might serve as suitable watchwords, the secretaries noting with care the drawing for each day. This done, the list of Watchwords for the days of the year is submitted to a brother who has thorough knowledge of the Scriptures and is, also, conversant with the history, doctrine, and practice of the Moravian Church. He chooses the Doctrinal Texts from the New Testament, so that these may supplement or complement the thought of the several Watchwords, be suitable for the seasons and days of the Church Year, or be appropriate for the special memorial occasions of the Moravian Church. This brother selects, also, the Scripture Lessons assigned for each day of the year. Lists of the Watchwords, Doctrinal Texts and Scripture Lessons thus secured are sent to the administrative centers of the German, English, and American Provinces and such centers of Moravian activity, especially the Moravian mission fields, where the Text Books are issued in various languages. The governing board in each such center appoints some one to select the hymn stanzas that are subjoined as collects to the Watchwords and Doctrinal Texts, and to prepare the assembled material for publication. Thus in its preparation, as in its use, the Text Book is a strong tie that helps bind together in one body members of the Moravian Church in various parts of the world. W.N.S.)

Appendix

Origin of the Watchwords and Doctrinal Texts of the Moravian Church

(Author not known; published about 1850)

Translated by W. N. Schwarze

The first printed Text Book (Loosung) appeared in 1731, and from that time is dated the unbroken series of this publication down to the present time. This series had its beginnings, however, somewhat earlier in the first spiritually vigorous congregation-period, which began when the Moravian Church had its own experience of the quickening power of the Holy Spirit in the summer of 1727. Under the influence of that same Spirit this experience was followed, during the next years, by a variety of congregation-regulations and forms of activity in the interests of the Kingdom of God, the diaspora- and the mission-enterprise, the daily early-morning devotional services and the evening services of song, the choir associations, the voluntary heart-to-heart interviews under the names of classes and bands, besides other evangelistic means, which are set forth by Christian David in his description of Herrnhut (of the year 1731). Among them he refers to the Brethren's Watchwords (Loosungen). "They are," he says, "greetings, words of encouragement of the congregation members taken from the Scriptures and edifying hymns, salutations we address to each other daily. After these have been communicated to the Brethren and briefly explained at the evening service of song, the brother whose turn it is to make the house to house visits for the day goes, the next morning, to all the houses and announces the Watchword to the inhabitants and begins to converse with them, as to whether they have experienced what it conveys, etc.; whereby each brother is called upon to make profitable use of the Watchword and we extend the hand of fellowship to each other in the conflict for our Fatherland."

The originator of this matter was Count Zinzendorf. He made a beginning on May 3, 1728, by giving the congregation as Watchword for the following day the word "Liebe hat Ihn hergetrieben, Liebe riss Ihn von dem Thron, und ich sollte Ihn nicht lieben? (Love drove Him hither, love drew Him from the throne, and I should not love Him?) He made note of various of the Watchwords for that year. In the following year, 1729, with several brethren he prepared a so-called gem-casket, or golden treasury, (Schatzkästchen) of (Scripture) verses and (hymn) stanzas. Each evening, one of the elders of the congregation drew the Watchword for the next day. These Watchwords for one part of this year, to September 14, are extant. Those for the year 1730, Zinzendorf states, have been lost, presumably, they were a repetition of those for 1729. At that time (1730), the Watchwords in external arrangement took on another form, in that all the Watchwords for all the days of the following year were drawn in advance and printed. Since then a booklet containing them has appeared annually in the new form. A fixed and permanent collection of Scripture verses and hymns for public consideration, such as the Brethren of the ancient Unity in Bohemia and Moravia had had them, or a golden treasury (Schatzkästlein) for the general circumstances of the life of individual children of God, as these were customary among the pietists of the Halle school of that time, could not suffice the renewed Moravian Church in the period of its early development, which—amid manifold tribulations and conflicts without and within, together with the stirring activity in the interests of the Kingdom of God among Christians and heathen—needed continually renewed directions, encouragements, and warnings. Accordingly, available means and patterns were used in free fashion and agreeably to the changed conditions for the Watchwords of the renewed Moravian Church. Fixed and continuing formularies there were none at that time in the Moravian Church; everywhere, these were subject to change in accordance with prevailing conditions. The same was true of the Watchwords. Up to the year 1740, the Congregation had only these for use in the services and at the homes of the members. Since these did not, however, always strike directly to the individual hearts but were in large measure ecclesiastical and historical, while the Moravian Church at just

that time as a Christian brotherhood with its peculiar features was developing more and more and new settlement congregations in considerable numbers were being established and organized in North America, England, and Germany, Zinzendorf found it desirable, in order that there might be more direct and special message to the hearts of old and new members of the Church and that the "Brethren's religion of warm-hearted communion with the Saviour" might be more deeply impressed, to subjoin to the Watchwords special texts which were addressed, partly, (from 1741 onward) to the whole congregation, partly, (since 1755) to the on-coming generation of congregation-children. Thus there were, during the years 1741-60, in various booklets of manifold titles in addition to the Watchwords one, two, or three texts for each day.

The Watchwords and Doctrinal Texts for the year 1760—the last published by Zinzendorf himself—contain as Introduction "A Detailed Account of the Hitherto Published Watchwords and Doctrinal Texts Booklets," written by him in 1759, in which what is here stated may be more closely examined. Shortly before the end of his life, May 9, 1760, (when the Watchword was: "He will bring in His harvest with praise and thanksgiving. Whosoever desires that, let him say, Amen!") he had completed the Watchwords for the year 1761 and therewith had bequeathed to his Congregation what has been called his farewell-blessing.

In the following year, 1762, there appeared, as already noted, the collection of Watchwords and Texts, used up to that time, in four parts. The first of these contains simply the Watchwords of the years 1731-40; in the following three parts the Watchwords and Texts of the years 1741-61 are assembled.

Since then, we have daily a Watchword and a Doctrinal Text with subjoined hymn stanzas, therefore, a double booklet annually. The compilation thereof has been committed to the Directing Board of the Unity. The Watchwords have always been drawn (as by lot) from a collection of Scripture verses, but the Doctrinal Texts have been deliberately chosen. In later times, the former have always been drawn from the Old Testament, the latter have been selected from the New Testament. The time for the drawing of the Watchwords and the choosing of the Doctrinal

Texts is, at present, fixed at so early a date that the new booklet for each year may be ready for use with the beginning of the year at even the remotest outpost of Moravian activity.

Thus it has come about that our Watchwords and Texts, now (about 1850) printed in three European languages, cast a uniting bond around the great circle of the Brethren's Unity among Christians and heathen, so that on each morning through instruction and comfort of the Scriptures a united offering of petition and prayer may rise from many hearts!

What these booklets from the beginning were to *be* and *say* to the Congregation that we can most readily determine from the originator's own expressions.

Count Zinzendorf had significant statements to make concerning them, partly, in his Eventual-Testament addressed to the Congregation in 1738, partly, as opportunity offered on later occasions. "The Watchwords are often pertinent discourses (or conferences) of the Saviour with the Congregation on the days and hours to which they belong.—They have frequently this purpose that He would instruct us concerning our present circumstances, so that unless attention were given thereto, harm might have resulted.—Watchwords are what is called the parole in war-time, from which the brethren and sisters may discern how to direct their procedure toward a certain objective.—They are for us household rules, by which the course of the Congregation is governed. For it is our business to discern the signs of the times that have a bearing upon the Church.—The Providence that holds sway in connection with the Words, which we so simply draw from the Bible and appropriate to ourselves, is by no means to be denied. What we may do in the matter comes in no way into account. Watchwords are so often in accord with the events of the day that the Congregation cannot possibly doubt that its Lord had wished to indicate a year in advance—for so long before had the Watchwords been drawn—into what circumstances the Congregation would come at that time and how it should govern itself with respect to them."

Concerning the general course of the Watchwords and the Doctrinal Texts Zinzendorf expressed his opinion, on January 2, 1759, in the following strain:

"We have arranged in happy fashion that we might each day hear the Word of the Lord, and, indeed, have the nut-meat taken out of the shell. In the book we call the Bible there is the whole fruit collected in the shell, as it came forth at different times and men of God, impelled by the Holy Spirit, have written . . . hence, I am glad to note that we look upon the Watchwords and Doctrinal Texts not as the words of man but as the words of God, which indeed they are. And who are we, who hear the Word, proclaim it and sing of it? People, who go in and out at the gates of His house. He has made us and not we ourselves to be His people, His servants, people who sit, kneel, lie before Him and hear at all times of His wisdom, His faithfulness, His meritorious life and death, and His nearness."

O that we were such people and might become such more and more, in that we should hear and heed what in the Word of the Lord the Spirit saith to the churches!

Early Hymnals of the Bohemian Brethren

(A paper presented at the John Hus Conference, Watertown, Wisconsin, Aug. 5, 1937)

By W. N. Schwarze

Hymns from the earliest time have been an essential element in the services of the Church. In all periods, they have contributed to the propagation of the faith and the cultivation of piety. Far from being a form of "mere literature," their motive and function have come to be more fully understood. Hymns are a singularly effective medium to the spiritual apprehension of the truth and its expression devotionally. A recent writer has brought to attention that "the theologian and the hymn writer traverse day by day the same country, the Kingdom of our Lord." "So far as theology is a science, the theologian deals simply with the topography of the country; he explores, he measures, he expounds. So far as hymn writing is an art, the writer deals not with the topography but with the landscape; he sees, he feels, he sings." Both methods are inevitable and useful. And each is necessary to the other. It is the topography and the landscape together that make the country what it is. Teaching and poetry together can approach the reality of the spiritual kingdom. If hymns are a singulary effective medium of Christian doctrine, they are equally effective as helps to Christian living. Hymns take rank as a "means of grace." And the experience of the centuries has shown that hymns are the most helpful means for the people's participation in public worship.

Small wonder that any spiritual revival Christianity has ever experienced should have availed itself generously of some form of the worship-song of the church. And, what is equally striking, it may well be questioned whether any spiritual revival has ever left the songs of the church without some significant development. The Lutheran movement left behind it the vast treasure of German hymnody; the Calvinistic movement left behind it the metrical Psalm, long in use and still in use in a considerable sec-

tion of the church; the Wesleyan movement left behind it the evangelistic hymn and the hymn of Christian experience; the Moody and Sankey campaigns left behind them the "Gospel hymn." And prior to all these movements, the Hussite movement left behind it the hymn in the vernacular and the people's hymn book.

That the Hussite movement should have brought about, among other results, the successful rise of a popular hymnody is not surprising. For John Hus was deeply interested in the worship-song of the church, understanding its value. As a student at the University of Prague, he helped to support himself, as Luther did a century later, by singing on the streets and in the churches, probably acting as a singing boy and ministrant at religious services.

In close connection with the ministry of Hus at the Bethlehem Chapel, in Prague, were his endeavors to provide for the orderly participation of laymen in the services, particularly, in church song. This had gradually become an exclusive privilege of the clergy. In consequence of their ever increasing claim to superiority over laymen, the ancient custom that the congregation should join in the singing had been abandoned. This had been resented by the Bohemians who have fine taste for music. They felt the more keenly about it, as the singers—monks and others of the minor clergy—often showed want of reverence, sang mechanically or even falsely and dispatched their duties as singers with indecent haste. Hus blames this abuse in quaint words, "Such a (singer) grinds his words without using his lips or teeth, and they seem as the sound of a millstone which thunders out, 'tr, tr, tr!' " Quite naturally, therefore, the Bohemian reformers and Hus, in particular, became interested in this matter. "The total reform of the Bohemian Church—the cause for which Hus lived and died—was to include a reform in church-song," as Count Lützow writes.

Hus endeavored to remedy abuses and introduce in the Bethlehem Chapel "quiet song and prayer that should be pleasing both to the learned and to the simple." In his writings he frequently expounded his views with regard to singing in the church. He declares song to be one of the forms of devotion that

constitute the services of the heavenly temple in our home (heaven). In another passage, he exhorts the mournful to expel the plague of sorrow from their hearts by the sweetness of song. As he attached great importance to devotional music, it is not surprising that the Bethlehem Chapel became famed for its singing. The preaching continued mainly to attract the people, as is natural, when we consider the unrivalled eloquence of Hus. Yet the singing by the congregation became a very important feature. Hus well understood the disposition of the crowds that listened to his sermons, and he helped them to give vent to their feelings in the manner most natural to an emotional multitude, that is to say, by means of song.

It was not an easy task to replace the Latin liturgic singing in his Chapel by songs in the national language. With the exception of a very few hymns, there then existed only secular songs in the Bohemian tongue, and these were generally frivolous or of even worse character. Like some later reformers, Hus tried to expel the objectionable songs that were popular and replace them by others of a devout nature. He translated into Bohemian some of the Latin hymns the people had been hearing. Through his influence other hymns were composed or adapted from the Latin by writers now unknown. He composed some hymns himself. Of the many attributed to him probably, at least, six are his genuine works. Among them are those beginning "Jesus Christ, bountiful Lord," "O, living bread of angels," "To avert from men God's wrath." To encourage singing in the native language, Hus appears to have established a kind of "school," where the people were taught the new devotional songs. Hus' love of singing did not forsake him to the last. It was while singing a hymn that he ended his life in the flames.

The executioner's torch that brought the martyr death to John Hus kindled a conflagration in Bohemia that raged for years with consuming fury. During the time of unsettlement, when none could foresee what shape events might take, a peculiar feature of the Hussite movement developed. Itinerant evangelists appeared, preaching in private houses or in the open fields. They rendered an important service. For, amid the confusions of the times, they preserved and spread among the people the doctrines

of Hus. And the throngs that crowded to hear them continued to sing the songs Hus had encouraged the people to use. Unfortunately, the ministrations of these wandering priests soon split the Hus followers into numerous contending factions and sects of divergent religious doctrines and tendencies. Men can be more easily united in following a great leader than they can be by adherence to a common cause. Where many will steadfastly follow a leader, few will steadily follow a principle. Political disturbances aggravated the situation. And when, in addition, a crusade was proclaimed, in 1417, summoning all Christendom to crush the evangelical movement in Bohemia, the land was plunged into the boiling welter of disorder and strife, known as the period of the Hussite Wars.

Better elements of this religious movement did not take up arms, nor meddle in political commotion, nor give way to fanaticism. They fostered apostolic teaching, discipline, and fellowship, true to the principles and practice of the Bohemian Reformer. They were genuine followers of Hus and furnished the seed of the Unitas Fratrum. Uniting themselves into small, free congregations, the members of which, at first, remained within the pale of the National Church, although they had but little real connection with it, they grouped themselves around some one more considerable man from their midst and acknowledged him as leader. Certain of these men, like Peter Chelcicky and Gregory, called the Patriarch, a nephew of Rokycana, the eloquent leader of the Utraquist Church of that time, exercised formative influence on their aspirations. Upon their counsel, many of them retired to the estate of Litiz, on the domain of Senftenberg, which Rockycana induced King George to assign to them as a place of settlement. That came about in the year 1457. Here like-minded people joined them, nobles, priests, masters and bachelors of arts, as well as commoners. Primarily, the idea was to form a Christian association, rather than withdraw from the Church and elaborate a new ecclesiastical organization. Hence, the name Brethren, or Brethren of the Law of Christ (Fratres Legis Christi), and, subsequently, Unity of the Brethren (Unitas Fratrum) was adopted. Persecutions raised against them caused the Brethren to wander through various parts of Bohemia,

where they became acquainted with similar congregations, and they increased in numbers to such an extent that they resolved on an entire separation from the Utraquist Church.

The compulsive force of conditions caused them to determine upon the establishment of an independent Church, in 1467, when the Elders of the Unity convoked delegates of the congregations to a synod at Lhotka, a hamlet near Reichenau. The assembled deputies, to the number of sixty, from nearly all parts of Bohemia and Moravia, resolved on the separation from the National Church. Through the good offices of the Waldenses they secured episcopal consecration for those whom they had selected to be their ministers. Gradually, a well-ordered polity was worked out. Ecclesiastical resources were developed in various particulars. The native genius of the Church continually asserted itself in practical evangelism. From the labors of John Hus its leaders drew inspiration to fight ignorance the fruitful mother of sin and error, and they embarked on extended and thorough educational activity. A confession of faith was elaborated. Besides hymn book, catechism and, later, the Bible in a translation from the original languages were given to the people. Printing presses, operated by the Unity, were busy multiplying copies of these works and various theological treatises. In the perfecting of the organization of the Unity and the development of its ecclesiastical resources Lucas of Prague, consecrated a bishop in the year 1500, and his friend, Lawrence Krasonicky, two men as learned as they were pious, bore an important part

Much of the detail of this history, especially at its commencement, is enveloped in a certain cloudiness, which we, with the facts now at command, are unable to pierce. So far as the services of public worship and developments that led to the printing of a hymn book are concerned, the following considerations are reflected in various writings of the Brethren or in the conditions of the times. In the services of the Brethren free prayer and the reading of Scripture and meditation thereon played the major parts. It must not be forgotten that unusual difficulty was associated with the use of the Scriptures, for the Bible or any of its parts were available only in manuscript form and, therefore, costly and hardly accessible to the average person. The first com-

plete printed Bible in the Czech language did not appear until 1488. The Brethren sought to meet the difficulty, in part, by committing to memory whole books of the Bible, a matter which excited amazement among their enemies, who could explain this only as having been accomplished with the help of the devil. Many a small congregation, possessing no manuscript of even a part of the Bible, was obliged, from time to time, to borrow a copy from some other congregation. Under the circumstances, it was but natural that the singing of hymns should figure largely in the public, as well as in the private, devotions of the congregations of the Unity, for these congregations were not priest-congregations but congregations of the people. And the people can participate actively in worship only in the use of hymns and liturgical responses. Through a whole generation, from the time of the founding of the Unity, its members could maintain the practice of congregational singing only by communicating knowledge of the hymns from mouth to mouth, or by frequent usage, or by the use of manuscript copies. Hence, too, they required of little children that they commit to memory the creed, the ten commandments, the Lord's prayer, and hymns they were taught to sing. They sang, then, in the congregations of the Unity with deep devotion the hymns Hus had composed and the hymns of other composition he had used. And there were many other hymns composed by various authors since his time, the knowledge of which had passed from hand to hand in manuscript form.

Out of all these and certain related considerations it is conceivable that there should develop gradually recognition of the need of such a thing as a hymn book. Essential truth must be allowed the statement that the hymn-writers "before the Reformation celebrated the great objective facts in Christ's life, while the hymnists after the Reformation, without neglecting the festival themes, brought out more fully the subjective application of Christ's merits and our relation to Him." Hymns composed before the Reformation were open, then, to somewhat closer scrutiny as to whether they conformed strictly to Scripture representation and teaching, particularly, as there was rather more reliance, then than now, on hymns for the propagation of Scripture truth. Hence, need would be felt for some recognized

authoritative collection of hymns, which by the processes of inclusion and exclusion should readily make clear to the average Christian what hymns were trustworthy and which were doubtful.

It should be added that hymns composed in the vernacular or translated into the vernacular were, at this time, no new thing. In Germany from the time of Otfried to Hans Sachs, that is from the ninth century to the sixteenth, more than fourteen hundred hymns had been composed in the tongue of the people. Nor was vernacular hymnody confined to Germany. St. Francis of Assisi, in the thirteenth century, had composed his "Cantico del Sol" in the Italian language. In the same century, popular religious song was a feature of the earliest Flagellant movement, their hymns appearing in Italian, French, German, and Dutch, as well as in Latin. But nowhere, prior to this time, does there appear to have been such a combination of conditions and forces, interest and felt need, as outlined above, as was the case in Bohemia, that would bring about so significant a contribution to church life and practice as a people's hymn book.

The first Bohemian hymn book of the Unity was a modest enough production. In Julian's "Dictionary of Hymnology" the historian, Dr. Joseph T. Müller, offers the following statement concerning it:

"The earliest known hymn-book is that extant in the Bohemian Museum at Prague. The title-page, the first leaf of the Calendar, the last leaf of the alphabetical index, and a leaf of the text are missing. Judging from the type it seemed to have been printed at Prague, by Severin, who had printed a Bohemian Bible in 1488. On the last page is a colophon which may be thus tr.: 'These hymns were finished on Wednesday in the Octave of the Baptism of God: in the year of God One Thousand Five Hundred and One,' i. e. Jan. 13, 1501. The book contains 89 hymns, of which 21 are by Konvaldsky, Taborsky, and Lucas (II, 8); of the rest, two (No. 32, 45) are from the hymn-book of the Taborites. This first hymn-book, it may be noted, is never mentioned among the works of the Brethren."

The fact that this hymn-book is never mentioned among the works of the Brethren leads Dr. Müller to suggest, in his "Geschichte der Böhmischen Brüder" that this may have been a private publication. He argues, however, that it is to be properly reckoned among the hymnals of the Unity, because 21 of the 89

hymns are compositions of ministers of the Unity, and 61 of the 89 hymns appear in the later hymnals of the Brethren. Of further interest concerning this first hymnal is the historian Müller's statement that many of the 89 hymns seem to have been taken from the church hymns collection of the fifteenth century (that is, of the Hussites and Utraquists) which was assembled, for the first time, by the Utraquist priest Wenzel Mirinsky, who died in 1492. In his collection, printed in 1522 and 1531, appear 44 of the 89 hymns of the Unity's first hymnal. These hymns were drawn, therefore, from the treasury of Czech church hymns composed before 1492. Some of the hymns of this first hymnal of the Unity were translations out of the church gradual or of other Latin hymns, such as, Gloria in excelsis Deo, Te Deum laudamus, Veni sancte spiritus, Jesus salvator optime, Jesu dulcis memoriae, Surrexit Christus hodie. Thus, these great medieval hymns, that shine in the cluster of the great hymns of all the ages, were drawn out of the shadows of cloistral walls and entered into the worship of the churches of the West, where they continue to exercise sanctifying mission.

Bishop Blahoslav, in his "History of the Brethren," states, referring to the year 1505, "The Brethren for the first time had a large sized Kancional of sacred hymns printed." It seems to have contained some four hundred hymns, but no copy of this book is now known to exist. The same historian reports that, "In the year 1519 the Brethren published a book of sacred songs and hymns for the use of the pious and faithful people, and that in a second edition." No copy seems to have survived. The title of an edition of the hymnal, of the year 1541, is preserved in a polemical treatise by the Jesuit D. W. Sturm, in his "Comparison of the Doctrine of the Brethren," but no copy is known to exist.

Some years later, the Brethren determined to publish a larger hymnal "adapted to the spirit of the age," yet not disconnected with the past. John Czerny, John Blahoslav, and Adam Sturm were entrusted with its preparation and were to include in the collection compositions of John Augusta and others of the younger men. The printing was finished, June 7, 1561. Of this fine folio which contains 744 hymns, including 60 from the hymn

book of 1501, a copy is preserved in the Archives of the Moravian Church, at Herrnhut, Saxony. Later editions appeared in 1564, 1576, 1581, 1583, 1594, 1598, 1615, 1659, the last named edited by John Amos Comenius.

For the German congregations of the Unity a hymnal was published in 1531. The colophon, at the end, gives this information, "Printed at Jungen Buntzel in Bohemia by George Wylmschwerer in the year 1531. Finished on the 12th day of March." Of the 157 hymns it contains Dr. J. T. Müller ("Geschichte der Böhmischen Brüder") finds that only 16 can be proved to have been translations of hymns in the Czech language. A number of the hymns were compositions of the editor, Michael Weisse, and the rest were, probably, selected from the hymns composed by German members of the Unity and theretofore circulated in manuscript form. Reprints of this German hymnal were issued in 1534, 1538, 1539, and 1541.

Upon the appearance of the 1531 German hymnal, the Bishops of the Church discovered that Weisse, the editor, had tampered with the contents to the extent of altering hymns so as to include the Zwinglian view of the Lord's Supper. The Bishops, at that time, inclined to the Lutheran view. Weisse was directed to revise the objectionable hymns. Before he could complete the task "God summoned him from hence." Thereupon, Bishop Horn undertook the work of revision, and, in 1540, the hymnal appeared in its new form. Included in the preface is this statement by Bishop Horn:

> "It has been our chief aim to let every one fully and clearly understand what our views are with regard to the articles of Christian faith; also how and in what way, in our assemblies, we praise, honor, and call upon God the Father, together with His beloved Son, Christ Jesus, and the Holy Ghost. And now, in all kindness, we would request such printers as will republish this Hymnal, not to change its sense; not to add syllables to, and not to take syllables from, the words, as was done in the former edition; not to mix strange hymns with these our hymns; but to let this Hymnal be and remain our Hymnal. As such we acknowledge it."

Reprints of this book appeared in Germany in 1564, 1576, 1585, 1590.

An enlarged German hymnal was compiled and published in

1566. Its preface is addressed to the "Reformed Evangelical Christian Churches of the German nation." It contains 343 hymns and adds in an appendix 106 hymns composed by Lutheran authors. This hymn book was reprinted, unaltered, at Nürnberg, in 1580.

Later editions of the Brethren's German hymnal appeared in 1606, 1639, and in 1661, the last named edited by John Amos Comenius.

A Polish hymn book was published by the Brethren in 1554. Revised and enlarged, this appeared in 1569.

As hymnals of the Brethren were destroyed, by the thousands, in the Counter-Reformation, copies that remain are extremely rare.

So far as is known, in all editions of these hymnals the tunes were incorporated with the hymns, though only the melody without harmony is given. With respect to the tunes Bishop Stephan, in a letter to the Elector Frederick the Third of the Palatinate, writes:

"Our fathers have taught us not only to preach the doctrines of religion from the pulpit, but also to frame them in hymns. In this way our songs become homilies. Experience having shown us that this principle bears good fruits among the Bohemians, we have introduced it among the Germans also. Some of our hymns date back to the time of Hus and the Taborites; others are new, and among us several have been composed by noblemen. Our tunes are, in part, the old Gregorian, which Hus used, and in part borrowed from foreign nations, especially the Germans. Among these latter tunes are popular airs according to which worldly songs are sung. At this strangers, coming from countries where they have heard them used in this way, take offense. But our hymnologists have purposely adopted them, in order through these popular notes to draw the people to the truth which saves. We find no fault with intentions which are so good."

To musically uncultured ears many of the tunes are not euphonius. Nevertheless, both hymns and tunes have excited, even in modern times, profound admiration. Döring, in his "Choralkunde" bears the following testimony:

It is the duty of the conscientious hymnologist to point to the old songs of the Brethren, which constitute a precious treasury of tunes that can not be sufficiently extolled . . . . Few composers have been able to strike, with the same correctness and effect as was done in the songs

of these little churches, the tone of a piety strong in its faith, of an earnestness which ever reproved sin, of prayers that were most fervent, and of a joy that was godly . . . . . To render these songs, or even a selection of them, more accessible, would be a meritorious work"

In response to this suggestion, Johannes Zahn published such a selection, to the number of 64, both of hymns and tunes, the latter to some extent modernized and fully harmonized. Title of this work is "Die Geistlichen Lieder der Brüder in Böhmen, Mähren und Polen in einer Auswahl," Nürnberg, 1875. In the preface he makes this statement:

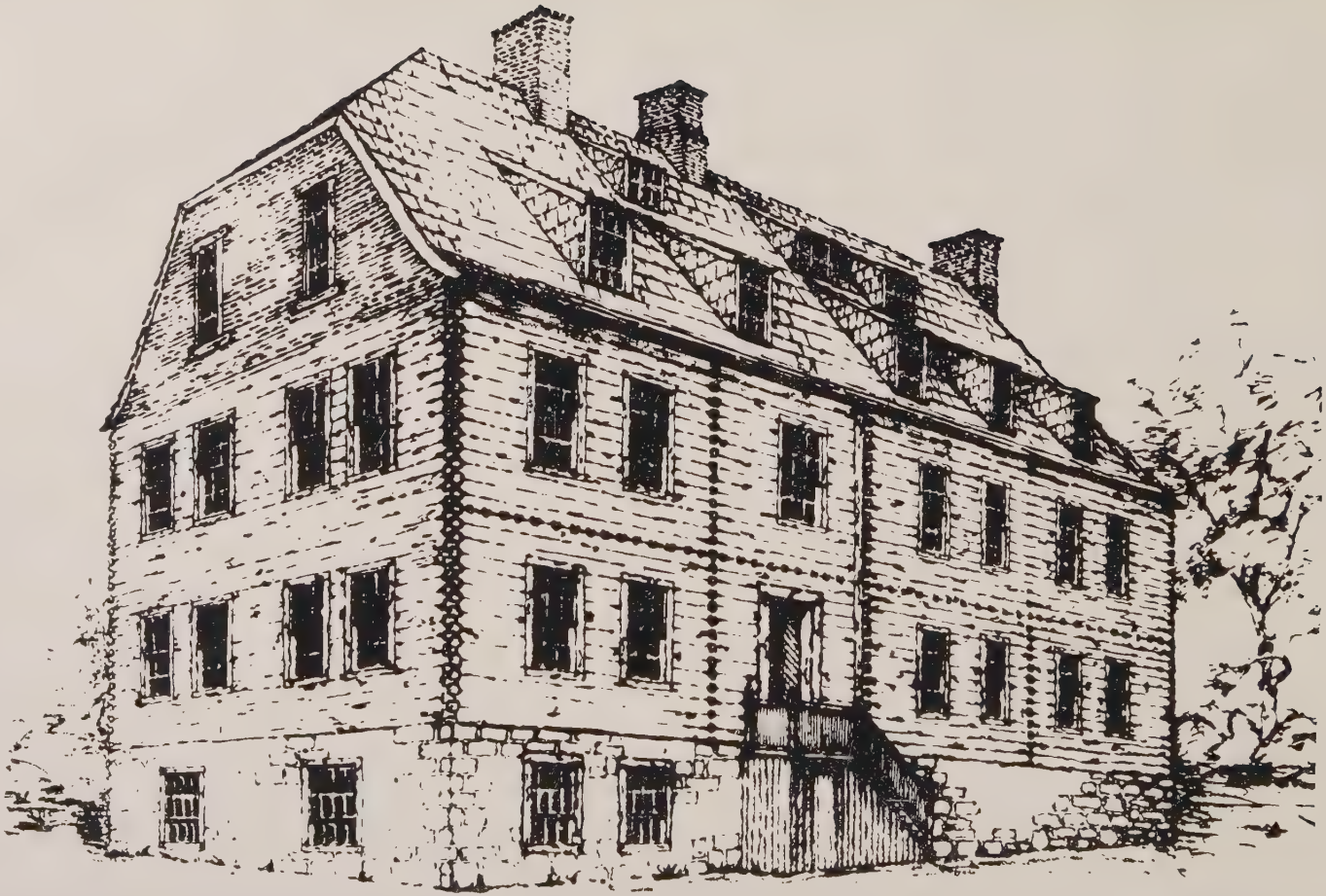
"No other songs express, in so touching and childlike a way, a consciousness of the necessity of redemption, joy in the Gospel of the Incarnation of the Son of God, earnestness in the conflicts for holiness, and trust in the aid of God amidst all the trials of earth. As to the tunes, many of them bear a character peculiarly their own. When heard for the first time, they sound strange; but the oftener they are sung the deeper they penetrate the heart. Hence they are classed, by all connoisseurs of evangelical psalmody, among the noblest productions of music."

Of the worth of the hymns of the Bohemian Brethren, writers of the time when they were still in use, and writers since that time, bear eloquent testimony. Of the various testimonies offered one must here suffice. Herder, than whom no writer of the eighteenth century had a more thorough knowledge of sacred poetry, says:

"The hymns of the Bohemian Brethren are instinct with a simplicity and devotion, with a fervor and spirit of brotherly love, which we must not hope to imitate, because these characeristics no longer exist among us."

Referring to the great influence the hymns of the Brethren must have exercised upon the popular mind, Bishop Edmund deSchweinitz, in his "History of the Church known as the Unitas Fratrum" gives expression to these sentiments:

"They used the gift of song with which the Czechs, in all periods of their history, have been endowed, to the edification of the Church, to the awakening of the religious consciousness of the nation, to the glory of God. In the cottage of the peasant, in the home of the burgher, in the ancient castle of the baron, were heard the songs of Zion, strengthening faith, enlivening hope, inspiring love, giving tone to daily life."



Frontispiece—DAS GEMEINHAUS, as it probably appeared when first constructed. Drawn by Donald B. Foust in accordance with the ideas expressed by Mr. Howland in the accompanying article.

Reconstructional Problems
Associated with the Moravian Buildings in Bethlehem

By Garth A. Howland
Department of Fine Arts, Lehigh University

We who live in Bethlehem are inclined to think of the Moravian buildings on Church Street as still retaining their first appearance. We may be aware that the log construction of the Gemeinhaus was originally exposed and that the Bell House once had a balcony, but beyond the mental reconstruction of such details our curiosity scarcely penetrates.

But all things change—new ways of living create new needs—and buildings, the prey of landlords and tenants, are subject to alteration. Fortunate are those houses which remain generation after generation in the hands of a family which treasures its traditions and resents modernization. The Church-owned buildings in Bethlehem have been happy in this respect; contrast with them those buildings which have not remained under the immediate supervision of the Congregation—few can be recognized.

Constant occupancy has been responsible for the remarkable preservation of the Choir Houses, considering the hundred-and-fifty to two hundred years of their existence, surprisingly few alterations have been made—partitions have divided large rooms, furnaces have been substituted for fireplaces, and electricity introduced into rooms intended to be lighted by candles. But other changes have occurred—perhaps more than we realize.

If we attempt to see the buildings on Church Street as they must have appeared to the eyes of the early townsfolk we can restore in imagination many features, but there are others which have so completely disappeared without leaving trace or known

record that their reconstruction is difficult and uncertain. It is these doubtful items, however, which intrigue one most.[1]

Das Gemeinhaus

If we are to get back to the building as it was when newly completed early in 1742 we shall have to think away several features of the building as it is today. First of all, as every Moravian knows, we shall need to rip off the present weatherboarding. (Fig. 1) This was not applied until 1868 when the whole building was "renovated," with the interior greatly altered, much to the apparent disgust of Edmund de Schweinitz, who commented in 1869, "It now represents the appearance of a common tenement encased in painted boards."[2] But even he may not have been familiar with the exposed log construction, for he makes no criticism of the stucco which in his day hid the logs from sight. All, however, did not share his condemnation for his contemporary, John Hill Martin, writing at the same time, comments: "The Gemein House . . . was formerly plastered over on the outside, with a heavy coating of mortar, made of lime and sand, and lined in imitation of stone, but in 1868, this

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[1] I am greatly indebted to many Bethlehem Moravians for assistance in substantiating data and for generous use of materials. I wish especially to express my gratitude to Dr. W. N. Schwarze, Archivist of the Moravian Archives, for the privilege of working in the Archives with its rich sources of original manuscripts and documentary material, and for his many valuable suggestions; to Dr. Kenneth G. Hamilton, Assistant Archivist, for important research, especially in the "Bethlehem Diary" (Bethlehemisches Diarium); to Dr. Edwin J. Heath, President of the Moravian Seminary and College for Women, for the generous use of his time; to Mrs. Albert G. Rau for access to her collection of photographs of Bethlehem; to Mrs. H. T. Morris and Mrs. Paul de Schweinitz for helpful information; to Dean P. M. Palmer of Lehigh University for suggestions and criticisms; to Mr. Seward Titlow for material relating to the Gemeinhaus; and to the occupants of the various buildings who permitted me to invade their private apartments for the purpose of photographing their doors and measuring their walls.

[2] Edmund de Schweinitz, "The Chapel and Its Contiguous Buildings on Church Street," in *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society*, V. I Nazareth, 1869 p. 130.

Fig. 1—DAS GEMEINHAUS c. 1900 (FROM S W)

Photo by Conradi (from negative in Moravian Archives)

coating was removed, and clap-boarding substituted, much improving the looks of the building.'"[3] Just when the building was stuccoed is not established, it may have been before the end of the eighteenth century, certainly before the first quarter of the nineteenth. A photograph by M. A. Kleckner (Fig. 2), taken in 1866, shows the stucco marked off into regular rectangles to simulate stone. This is also depicted in a drawing of 1854 by Rufus A. Grider. (Fig. 3) Moreover in two drawings of the church before it was remodeled in 1816 the Gemeinhaus is shown in the background. In the one by Fritz Walters there is no indication of the log construction, but the walls are represented as smooth; in William van Vleck's drawing (Fig. 4), the imitation stone work is sketched in. This would indicate that the stucco must have been applied before 1816. If van Vleck's drawing is an accurate reproduction of the "architect's draft," which it supposedly copies, then the stucco must have been in place by 1802 or at whatever date the architect himself made the drawing. Van Vleck himself could not have copied the drawing as early as 1802 or '03 for he would have been but twelve or thirteen years of age, and the drawing has the assurance of a mature draftsman. But unless he altered the appearance of the Gemeinhaus to conform to the later date when he made the drawing, then the building was definitely stuccoed by the time the church was built. The stucco was not plastered directly onto the logs, but to a kind of sheathing made of uprights and laths, which was removed for the most part when the weather-boarding was put in place. Interestingly enough, the wall on the north side under the porch is still stuccoed. (Fig. 5) Perhaps the shelter of the porch roof accounts for the boarding never having been applied to this area.

Ridding the building then of any remaining vestiges of stucco, we come at last to the original construction of squarehewn white oak logs. Photographs taken during repairs in 1935 (Figs. 6 and 7) show skillful dove-tailing and the mortised ends of the inner cross-wall visible on the exterior. The log rafters supporting the upper floors may also have projected through the outer wall

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[3] John Hill Martin, *Historical Sketch of Bethlehem in Pennsylvania with some account of the Moravian Church.* Philadelphia, 1872, p. 59.

Fig. 2—DAS GEMEINHAUS 1866 (FROM S E)

Photo by Kleckner (in Moravian Archives)

Fig. 3—DAS GEMEINHAUS 1854, DRAWING BY RUFUS GRIDER
(Original in Moravian Archives)

FIG. 4—BETHLEHEM CHURCH (BEFORE THE CHANGES OF 1816) WITH GEMEINHAUS AT RIGHT

From drawing by William Van Vleck

in a similar manner, if one is to judge from a drawing in the Historical Museum at Nazareth, by "Old Mr. Oerter," (Fig. 8) who had assisted Garrison in his engraving of "Bethlehem in 1784." This is the vanished "Choir House of the Married People" of 1745,[4] which was demolished in 1802 to make way for the church.

The drawing of the "Married People's House," or the "Ancestors' House" as it is sometimes called, gives a fairly accurate idea of the method of log construction employed at the time. It is reasonable to suppose that the Gemeinhaus, built only four years earlier, followed the same constructive system. Instead

FIG. 5—DAS GEMEINHAUS 1943 (FROM N W)
Photo by the author

of the double pitched roof of the Ancestors' House, which more closely followed its German precedents, the roof of the Gemeinhaus is single pitched with a slight "kick-up" at the eaves—this, too, is of Germanic origin and is found in early Pennsylvania-German buildings elsewhere. However, in spite of being single pitched, the upper portion of the roof was truncated, so that something of a Germanic hipped-roof effect was obtained.

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[4] A date not authenticated, but accepted by the local historians.

FIG. 6—NORTH WALL, GEMEIN HAUS, 1935—SHOWING DOVETAILING

FIG. 7—NORTH WALL, GEMEINHAUS, 1935—MORTISED ENDS OF INTERIOR CROSS-WALL

Photos by the author

FIG. 8—CHOIR HOUSE OF THE MARRIED COUPLES—THE "ANCESTORS' HOUSE"

(From a copy of a drawing by "old Mr. Oerter" in the Moravian Historical Society Collection, Nazareth, Pennsylvania)

It is common knowledge that the Gemeinhaus was "enlarged" in 1743 but if we endeavor to determine the length of the original portion of the house we are confronted with a curious situation. Bishop Levering in his "History of Bethlehem"[5] states that the original size of the house was 30 by 45 feet and he adds:

[5] Joseph Mortimer Levering, *A History of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.* Times Publishing Company, Bethlehem, 1903, p. 145. This is the standard reference book on Bethlehem history and is recognized as reliable and authentic. Levering based his information upon many early manuscripts and documents, especialy the "Bethlehem Diary," diaries of the various choirs and persons, letters, biographies of Moravians and church records. He had a staff of translators who read for him and made notes. Unfortunately, in his history he rarely cites the source of his material. Seldom does one find an item which upon being checked from the original sources is not verified, consequently, when his source cannot be located he is credited with having spoken with authority.

"the east end was at the present eastern doorway." It would seem that one or the other of these statements must be in error.

Thirty feet is the approximate width of the house if one considers the dimensions as internal rather than external. But from what point shall we start to measure the forty-five foot length? If we begin, as seems reasonable, at the present western end forty-five feet reaches very nearly to the center of the building. To be sure, this would give that symmetry to the façade—a central doorway flanked by an equal number of windows on either side —common in German as in colonial architecture and employed on all of the other Moravian houses. Moreover, the eastern half duplicates the design as though a replica of the first house were added as the eastern extension.

Unfortunately for this view there could not possibly have been an end wall forty-five feet from the western end for there is no break in the log construction at the center of the building. During the repairs of 1934-35 it was discovered that the central part of the house was built of logs thirty-two feet in length. At the center of these occurs that cross wall whose mortised ends appear in the photograph of the exterior. (Fig. 7)

Assuming then that Bishop Levering's second statement is the correct one—that the original eastern end was near the present eastern doorway—let us examine the wall which extends across the building at this point. It rises just four feet to the left of the doorway, it is of heavy logs and may easily be inspected in the little cellarway which leads from the northern end of the hall into the space below. Here the logs have never been concealed under any covering other than whitewash.* This in all probability is the original eastern wall, it is dove-tailed into the thirty-two foot logs and indicates the eastern side of the chapel on the second floor.[6] (Figs. 10 and 12)

Measuring internally forty-five westward from this wall we reach another log wall—that at the farther side of the hallway

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* The logs are no longer visible as the area has been converted into a bathroom since this paper was written.

[6] The supervisor of repairs, Harold Williams, assures me that he observed the dove-tailing of the two walls at the northeast corner when the clap-boards were removed in 1934-35.

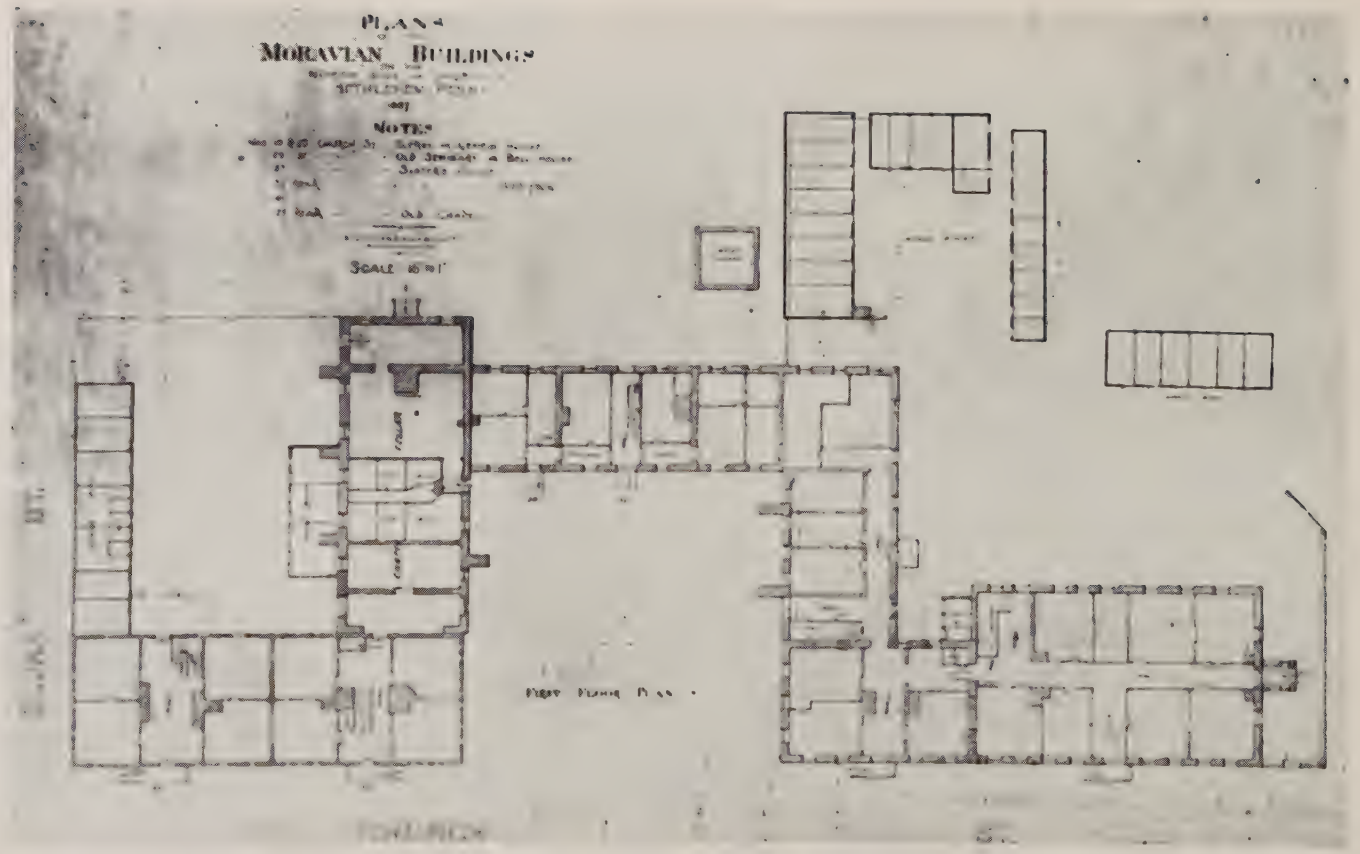

FIG. 9—MORAVIAN BUILDINGS ON THE NORTH SIDE OF CHURCH STREET, FIRST FLOOR PLAN.

Drawn by L. J. H. Grossart, 1897

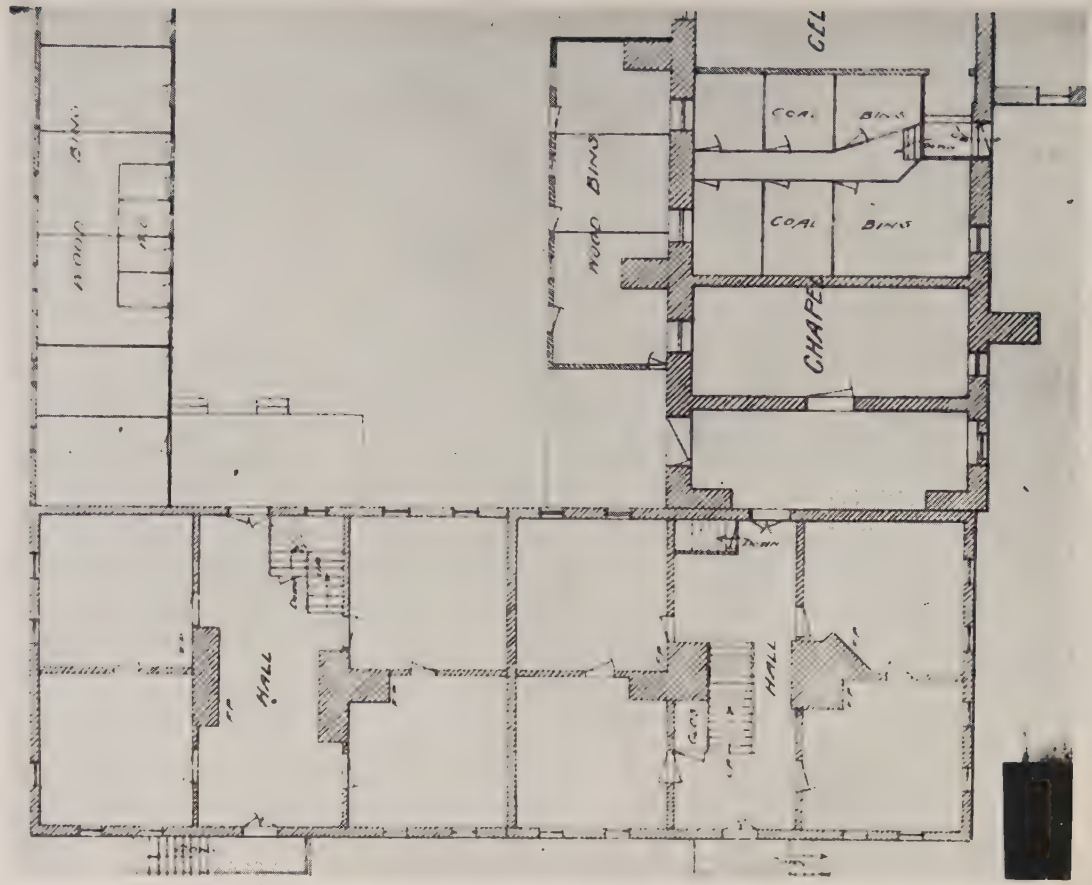

FIG. 10—Detail of Fig. 9—FIRST FLOOR PLAN OF DAS GEMEINHAUS WITH GROUND FLOOR OF "THE OLD CHAPEL"

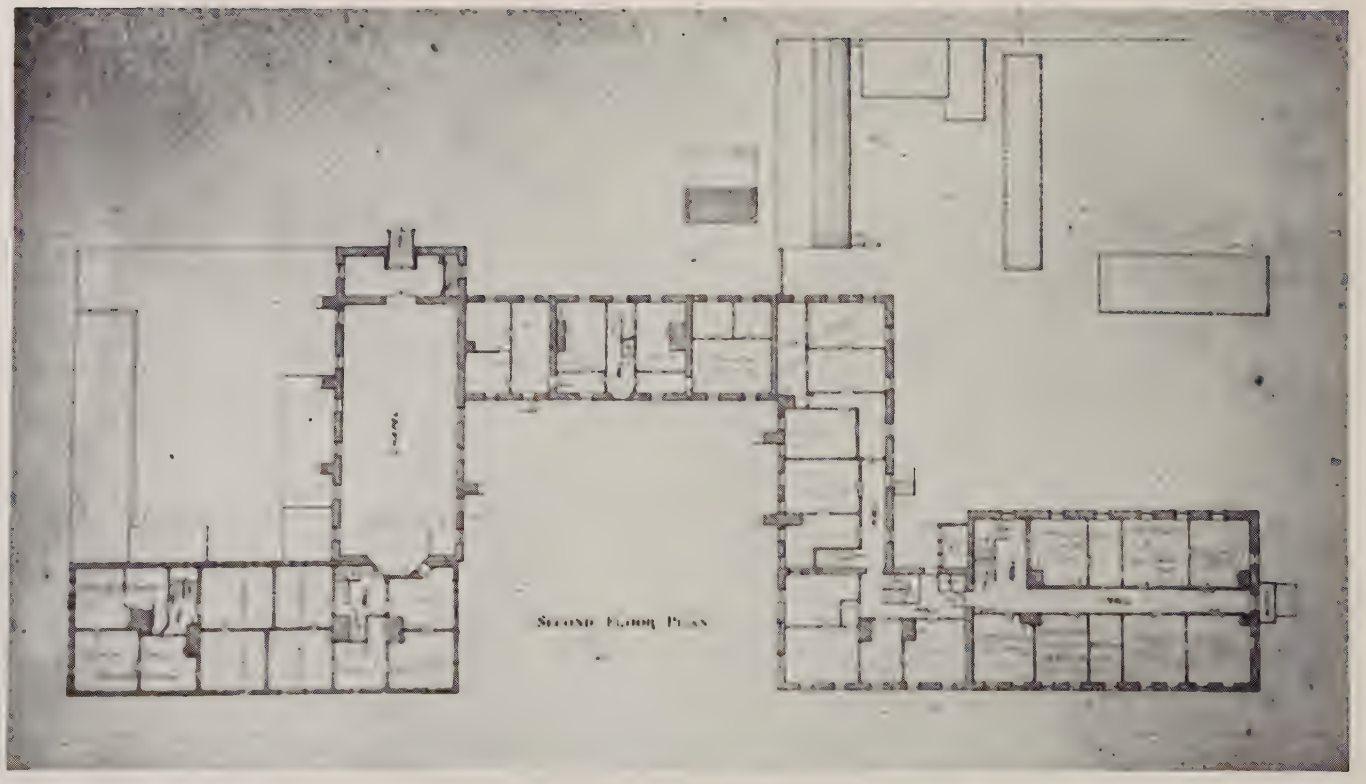

Fig. 11—MORAVIAN BUILDINGS ON THE NORTH SIDE OF CHURCH STREET. SECOND FLOOR PLAN

Drawn by L. J. H. Grossart, 1897

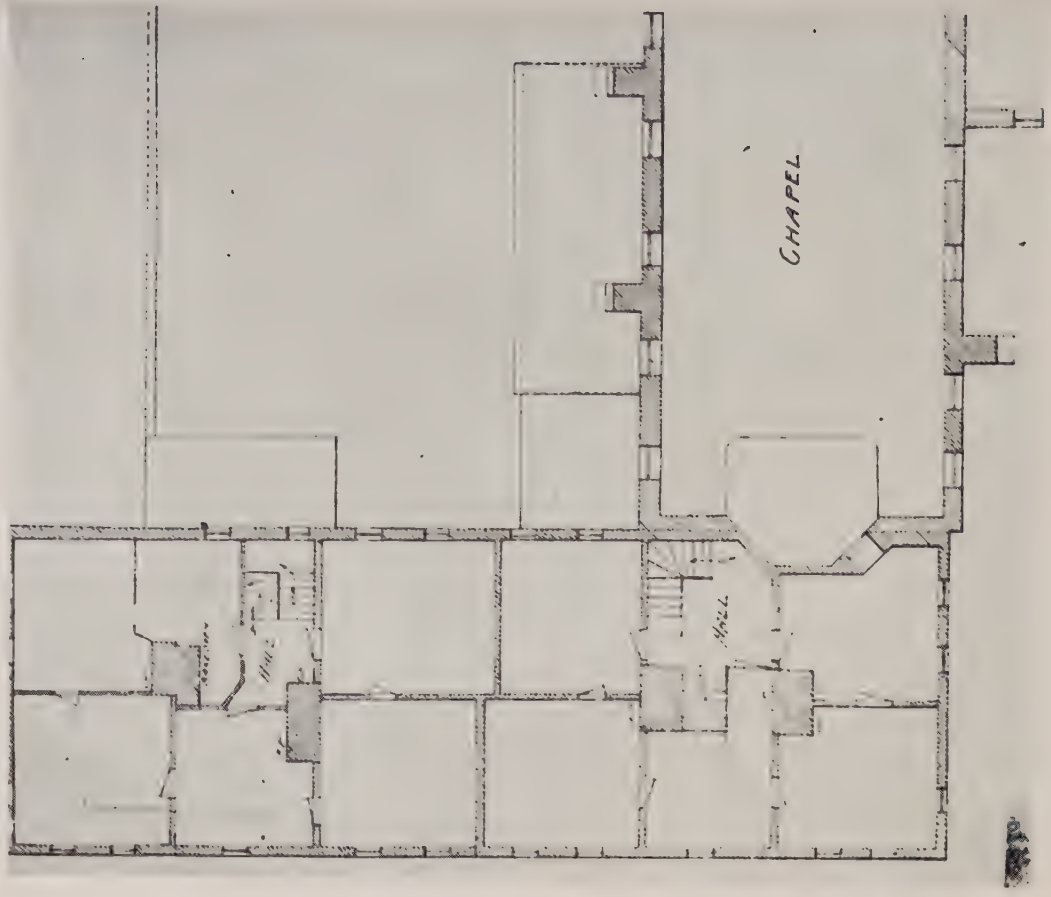

Fig. 12—Detail of Fig. 11—SECOND FLOOR PLAN OF DAS GEMEINHAUS WITH MAIN FLOOR OF "THE OLD CHAPEL"

—but this too is mortised into the longer side walls and cannot be considered therefore as ever having been the end of the house. There are, however, two other log walls either of which could have been an end wall—they have all the required structural qualifications. One of these is the present end wall of the building, the other is that which formed the western side of the chapel at the west end of the thirty-two-foot logs. Neither agrees with Levering, the first would make the original portion sixty-three feet long and the second only thirty-two. Nevertheless from the very structure of the building one or the other must have been the original western end. Evidently Levering misread or copied an earlier error.

If we inspect first the wall at the west end of the chapel we find it corresponds to the wall at the eastern end. A striking bit of argument that this may have been the end wall is furnished by the photograph of the log construction. (Fig. 6) It will be noted that the ends of this wall are dove-tailed into the side wall in exactly the manner of the usual corner treatment. One hardly expects to find this occurring along the course of a continuous wall. But if this means that the wall was the original western limit then the house at first consisted only of the central portion of the present-day building. Structurally this may be possible but such a view presents more difficulties than it eliminates. First, there is the difficulty of explaining fireplace openings, then without a western hallway there is the matter of stairs which would not only serve the chapel but continue on to the dormitory above. There is also the question of a kitchen, for the area under this central portion of the house was not excavated. And where shall we look for the main entrance?

The chapel occupied the entire second floor of this central section. Where are we to place the two rooms at the west end of the second floor which tradition says were "hurriedly prepared" for the use of the Count von Zinzendorf when he visited the community in December 1741?[7]

Furthermore this involves two later additions, one at each end, instead of the single eastern addition mentioned in the accounts.

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[7] Levering, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

We turn then to the other alternative—the present western end. If we can believe that this was the original end wall we avoid the problems just considered but there is one feature which should be observed. This is the manner in which the end portion is related to the central block. The central block is a compact unit in itself with both the eastern and western walls dove-tailed into the north and south sides. The western section, consisting of the hallway and rooms at the left, is built up of three exterior walls only, dove-tailed at the northwest and southwest corners[8] and set up against the central block. The method by which this was accomplished may be studied in two photographs—the one

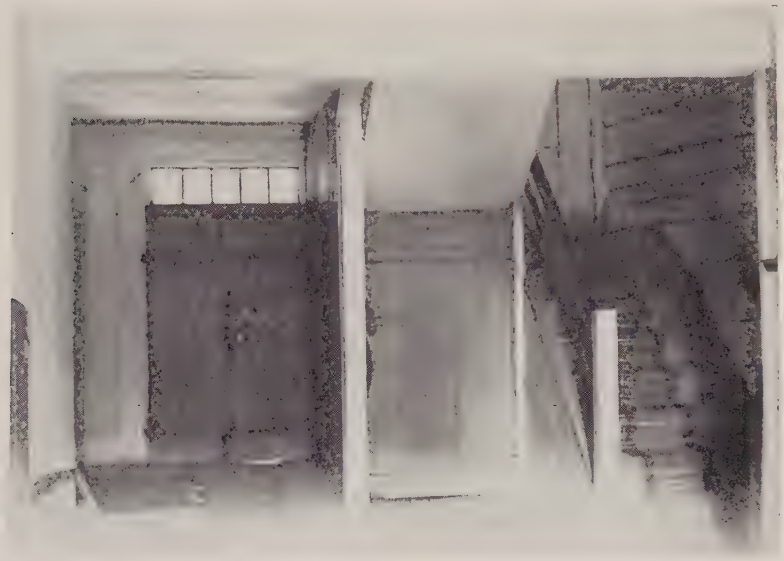

FIG. 13—NORTH END OF WEST HALL, GEMEINHAUS, c. 1892
From negative in Moravian Archives

showing the dove-tailing at the northwest corner of the central part (Fig. 6) and the other, the interior of the hall before the logs were covered with plaster. (Fig. 13) A huge upright beam was set up against the corner, into this the new logs were inserted. (In 1935 as the photograph shows the lower portion of the beam was replaced by bricks.)

[8] On authority of Harold Williams.

May it not be that due to the unusual length for a log structure the walls at the ends of the thirty-two-foot logs were locked into the side wall to give greater strength to the central portion containing the chapel? And that the side walls of the western section were tied to this during the first building period? This explanation alone satisfies most of the demands.

If we accept the present western end as original, we shall have to conclude that the original portion of the house was two-thirds the length of the present building, rather than merely one-half, and we shall have an unbalanced façade with two windows at the left of the entrance doorway and four at the right. But whichever view we take it seems necessary to assume that the completed house was planned from the beginning. It is the only way to secure a consideration for that symmetry so insisted upon in Moravian architecture. It should be remembered that there was need for haste to provide for guests and the growing needs of the little community. In all their planning the Moravians were very forward looking. Consider the great size of the church which was built when the settlement numbered but five hundred souls yet would house three times that number. So here, a building of the present size may have been desired, but with the need for immediate shelter it was felt advisable to finish a portion only in order to have it ready for the first winter. Levering recounts the trials of Master Builder David Nitschmann who found his workmen drained off for missionary work by the more visionary Zinzendorf. Lack of men and time may well have decided Nitschmann to complete as much as could be enclosed before severe weather set in and to add the rest another year.

A log house is log only to the beginning of the sloping roof. As logs are heavy and must support each other at the corners, there can be none in the triangular gable where the side walls, needed to lock in the corners, are absent. Above the logs of the Gemeinhaus the gable ends are filled in with brick to the height of the truncated portion. While this brick work was doubtless placed at the west end during the first building period the eastern gable may not have been filled in. For if the builder intended to extend the house eastward he might not bother to build up the permanent brick wall which later he would need to remove.

Nor would he be likely to truncate the end but would continue the roof straight out to the end wall. He could employ a temporary sheathing of some sort until the new portion was erected. I suggest, therefore, that some such consideration was in the mind of Master Builder Nitschmann and that the roof of the first portion of the house was truncated only at the western end. A second reason for believing this is an entry in the *Bethlehem Diary* under the date of July 8/19, 1742, which reads in translation:

> In the sleeping hall of the sisters a window in the roof is to be made and the *gable is to be closed up.*

In what other way is one to explain this passage?

There can be no question but that the two western chimneys were in place from the beginning—they are bound in with the total arrangements of the house. A chimney at the east end of the first portion would appear to have been necessary to provide fireplaces for the two east rooms under the chapel. (cf. plans Figs. 9 and 10) But as the main mass of the chimney stands in the hallway of 1743 it would have jutted out from the original block. To build an exposed chimney would have been a violation both of Moravian practice and of climatic considerations—in such a latitude a house was ordinarily built around a chimney to conserve heat. Master Builder Nitschmann may well have placed the chimney here in what would be its normal position relative to the completed house, hoping that before another winter it would be properly enclosed. The presence of a chimney too would justify our belief that the eastern end of the first portion was not truncated. For the chimney would rise straight up through the center of the end of the house so that a gable would be the only logical device.

We would have then, for the first building period, a house thirty-two feet deep by sixty-three or sixty-four feet long. There would be three chimneys, two toward the west in the center of the roof and the third rising through the gable at the east end; the western end of the roof alone being truncated. At the left of the doorway, two windows grouped rather closely together and placed somewhat closer to the end of the building than to the

doorway. At the right of the door, four windows, also grouped in pairs and correspondingly distant from the doorway. (See frontispiece)

There is a second story window above each of those below but the window above the door, instead of being centered is aligned at the right so that it seems pushed to one side.

At the west end of the house today there are but three windows on each floor as though the second window from the south were omitted. When the weather-boarding was removed from the lower part of the wall, during the repairs of 1934-35, an opening for the second window was revealed.[9] This must have been closed comparatively early for van Vleck's drawing (Fig. 4) shows only the three windows we know today.

Above these on the third floor van Vleck places two more which agree with the present fenestration but he omits the one in the peak of the gable—probably because he made the others so large in scale that he had no room left! Walters in his drawing has crowded three windows into the gable end but he has reduced them in scale. His drawing has too many inaccuracies, however, to be very helpful in restoring such details.

The windows on the north side of the house agree only for the central portion, containing the chapel and the rooms beneath it. If there were also two windows west of the doorway they must have been eliminated when the sheds were added. The doorway itself is placed slightly farther to the west than on the south to allow for the stairway. There are in addition two small windows on the stairway landings. (Fig. 5)

There is no way of determining what windows may have existed on the original eastern end. The log wall is pierced by two doorways on each floor level which may have been windows but whether or not there were other openings now concealed under paper and plaster has not been ascertained.

When the eastern end was extended in 1743 the western pattern was repeated in regard both to the façade and to the end proper. Grider's drawing of 1854 (Fig. 3) shows the full allot-

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[9] Reported by Dr. Arthur S. Cooley of the Moravian College for Women (1943).

ment of four windows to the first and second floor on the East with the two in the dormitory. Today the second window from the south is missing on the second floor. Kleckner's photograph (Fig. 2) shows four windows on each of the main floors but the second ones have the shutters closed—is it possible that the upper one was a "blind"—that Grider was wrong and there never was a true window at this point? One longs to remove the boarding to find out!

The truncation of the original roof was repeated on the new eastern end. The drawings and prints throughout the eighteenth century show both ends as hipped. They disappear from the prints, however, after 1802. There is conclusive internal evidence that the new east end, as well as the original west end, was truncated and we can determine the exact angle at which the cut-back occurred. The end rafters on the north and south sides at both ends of the upper attic reach only part way to the present ridge-beam. The line at which they were cut away, if continued, would about touch the sill of the gable windows—windows which of course were inserted after the end walls were built up when the roof was changed. This added portion of the gable wall is not brick and is shown as clapboarded in Grider's drawing.

The Gemeinhaus, as extended, appears in most of the early views of Bethlehem, but the scale is so small—the drawings of the house measuring about an inch in most instances—that we cannot obtain a very clear idea of the details. The views, to be sure, were intended to present a general idea of the settlement as a whole rather than to depict the architectural features of particular buildings.

On both the north and south sides of the roof were two ranges of dormer windows, those in the lower row being about the size and proportion of those in the lower stories, but the upper ones were half as tall and nearly square—all had long sloping "shed" roofs. On that part of the house which was first constructed there were presumably five windows in the lower range and four above. When the house was lengthened one window only was added to each row. While this produced a balanced arrangement for the upper series, it leaves a curious blank space at

the east end in the lower range. That this was always true may be questioned but there is no sure evidence for the missing window. The drawings and prints which show the Gemeinhaus are too uncertain in their statements to offer real help. More dormers are depicted in later prints than in early ones. The various artists simply put in whatever number of windows would fill the space. This is true even of Grider's drawing, for while he has the six windows in the lower range, he spaces them uniformly along the total length of the roof, an arrangement which could not possibly have existed. Van Vleck's drawing gives five windows above and six below but with an empty space at the east end just as there is today.

The upper row of dormers has entirely disappeared. The prints are in considerable disagreement as to the number, ranging from three to six. Five, however, is the number most frequently seen in the early prints and this agrees with the internal evidence, for a series of scars on the under surface of the attic roof proves very convincingly that there were five dormers on both the south and north sides. Two of this original number were removed before 1854, if we may again offer Grider's drawing as evidence. The remaining three did not disappear until around the turn of the present century for they are shown in the photographs after the trolley tracks were laid on Church Street (1892), but before the street was paved (1920). (Fig. 1) The dormers served as ventilators for the upper attic, and not for light—they follow the slope of the roof so that the openings were below the level of the upper attic floor. It may have been for this reason that there was no hesitancy in removing them—one can imagine that the worst leakage occurred about the dormers, and when the roof was repaired it was considered safer and easier to remove the dormers than to repair the leaking areas about them.

The street level was substantially the same as it is today, so that there was sufficient height at the west end for full-sized windows on the ground floor. There were, perhaps, as van Vleck indicates, two windows on the front at the left of the entrance.

The ground floor was entered through a doorway under the stoop at the entrance door of the first floor. This kitchen door, of the gate or two-section type, is still in place, its original hand-

wrought hinges and quaint wooden latches well preserved. (Fig. 14) The present stoop, like its companion at the eastern door, does little more than indicate the position of the original, with a step or two down to the kitchen level and a flight of ten or more leading upward to the main entrance. Most probably there was some sort of roof over these stoops, the early engravings, including Garrison's, indicate a gabled roof, but the gabled porches shown in Grider's drawing seem much too slight to accord with the sturdy character of the log house.

The main doors, we may suppose, were always bi-valve as today, with the beveled-edged boards set diagonally so that when the two parts are closed a herring-bone pattern results. Above was the transom of five squarish panes, similar to one which is still in place above the north door. (cf. Fig. 13)

Through the western doorway one enters a broad hall—thirteen feet wide, except where it narrows to nine between the great projecting chimneys, each with a fireplace in the hall. The hall extends straight through the house, with a doorway at the farther end. This northern door is slightly at the left of the hall; at the right rises the stairway to the second floor, with a door leading to the kitchen stairs beneath the landing. The log walls were visible in the hall throughout most of the nineteenth century. Photographs taken about 1890 show the logs distinctly under a thin coating of whitewash.

Before examining the rooms at right and left of the hall let us mount the stairs to the second floor for here was located the most important room of the house, the room for which the symmetrical design of the façade was sacrificed—the chapel. There is no question but that it occupied the entire central section of the present house—i.e. from hall to hall with four windows across both the north and south sides. (Figs. 11, 12)

As the room was nearly square—thirty feet by thirty-one—it can hardly be said that the benches ran "lengthwise" but according to Moravian custom in Germany they faced the windows on the side rather than the blank wall of the end. Levering tells us that a painting by Mueller occupied the center of the south wall behind the speaker's table. We can visualize it as the focal point of the room in the wider space between the two central windows.

In February 1750 four black walnut pillars were introduced and the chapel walls were plastered.[10] Heat from the first—at least as early as October 1742—was furnished by a tile stove. This may have been connected with either of the two chimneys which ran up through the walls at either end of the room. A third chimney across the hall at the west contained an oven ostensibly for the convenient baking of buns used in the love feast. It has been the custom to speak of the rooms which were prepared for the Count von Zinzendorf as being "at the west end of the building" and consequently to think of them as the two west of the hall. But this I believe is an error; the rooms of the Count were, to be sure, west of the chapel, one of them was that in the southwest corner, the other was the walled-off southern end of the hall. There are two reasons for believing this: first, the chimney in the northwest room contained the oven and it seems improbable that the bun-baking would have been carried on in the Count's chambers. The second reason lies in a statement in the Bethlehem Diary[11] to the effect that windows were to be cut "in Brother Ludwig's" room in order that visitors on such occasions as the *Anbeten* (prostration or adoration) and Holy Communion might observe the service without entering the chapel. For windows to be effective the room would have to adjoin the chapel. In this "hall-room" today is a door which may well have been a window into the chapel. If the Count's rooms were the two at the front rather than those across the west end of the building, then there were three rooms west of the chapel and not

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[10] de Schweintiz, *op. cit.*, p. 125: "on the second floor of the house was the first church of Bethlehem, consisting of a chapel — styled *Der Saal* afterward *Der Kleine Saal*, whose low ceiling was supported by four wooden pillars, which are yet to be seen in the partition walls of the four rooms, into which, at a later date, it was divided."

No part of the pillars is visible today but workmen assured me that they had verified the presence of one in breaking through a partition.

[11] Bethlehem Diary: June 20/July 1, 1742, "Windows are to be made in Brother Ludwig's room for the visitors on certain occasions such as the *Anbeten* and Holy Communion. . . . . In the future the whole hall of the new addition is to be devoted to this purpose and the stair is to be moved to the rear."

The last sentence of the quotation shows that the eastern addition was definitely planned as early as July, 1742, with the new stairway to be

merely a wide hall with two rooms—a much more practical use of the floor space.

The third floor with the tall dormer windows was the dormitory—or dormitories; two entries in the Diary seem to indicate that there was more than one. The first under the date of August 22, 1743, reads:

> Today we occupied our large house now that the rooms are ready. Each choir occupied its own rooms, the dormitories also being exchanged, since the Sisters moved into the new addition to the house.

The other simply states that "there were now twice the number of dormitories." One would scarcely make such a statement if before the addition there had been but one room.

Whatever may have been the original number of dormitories the space occupied was later divided by thin board partitions into separate sleeping rooms—in time to be used as lockers. Above the dormitories, reached by a narrow stairway with a trap-door, was the unceiled upper attic lighted today only by the small window in each end of the gable. I question whether this space was ever used for dormitory purposes but that does not preclude the idea of its having been slept in, in spite of the fact that it must have been unbearably hot in summer and cold in winter.

The arrangement of the rooms on the first floor raises one or two questions. The squarish section beneath the chapel most probably was divided into four rooms as at present. There are two structural reasons for believing this. First, any log wall may be accepted as of original construction and there seem to be two such walls which divide the space into nearly equal quarters—an east-west wall through the center which separates the L-

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placed forward in the long hall, as it is today. In spite of the recommendation cited in the Diary to change the location "to the rear" it was not carried out.

Again under the date of June 23/July 4, 1742: "At the Diener Conference it was decided to make dormer windows also windows opening into the meeting-hall and the conference room." The first part of the statement arouses one's curiosity, does it mean *additional* dormers? The later half of the statement seems to be a further development of the ideas expressed a few days earlier in regard to cutting windows into the chapel from the hall so that visitors could look into the room without disturbing the services.

portion of the western chimney from the south room and allows the north side to have a fireplace of its own; and a north-south wall which also bisects the space. The mortised ends of this wall are shown on the north side of the house in the photograph of 1935. (Fig. 7) The second reason lies in the necessary support such a scheme would give to the chapel floor. But was there one room at the west end of the building or two? I am inclined to believe that at first there had been only one, for the partition which divides the two rooms of today is comparatively thin and there was but one fireplace on the west side of the chimney. If there were two rooms one of them must have been without heat.

Moreover an inventory of the Gemeinhaus taken for tax purposes in 1752, lists twelve rooms in addition to the chapel and dormitories—and evidently exclusive also of the kitchens in the basement. In order to secure this number, if we count four rooms directly beneath the chapel on the first floor and the two on each floor added by the eastern extension—as indicated by the position of the four fireplaces (cf. the plans Figs. 10, 12)—it is necessary to assume that there was but one room at the western end of the building on the first floor, that is, provided we are correct in believing that there were three above instead of two as formerly supposed.

The kitchens, as indicated, were below the first floor on the west end, entered either through the outside door under the western stoop or reached by an abrupt flight of steps at the rear of the west hall. The two great western chimneys here had their origin,—that on one side was the open hearth for general cooking; the opposite one, the oven. A bit of the floor in this area escaped the layer of concrete which was poured over the rest of the "basement" about 1935, at the time the modern oil burner was installed. This irregular flag-stone paving may well be the original floor.

None of the original wooden floors above is preserved except in the upper attic—here one may still see the red pine boards varying in width from five to sixteen inches. The woodwork about doors and windows was plain to the point of severity, but relieved by the hand-wrought hardware—the locks are large but the handle is a hollow hemisphere perfectly fitted to the

FIG. 14—KITCHEN DOOR, GROUND-FLOOR, GEMEINHAUS

Photo Tobias 1943

FIG. 15—DOOR WITH DOUBLE-S HINGES IN S W ROOM, SECOND FLOOR, GEMEINHAUS

Photo Tobias 1943

FIG. 16—DOOR, FIRST FLOOR, GEMEINHAUS, LEADING TO EASTERN HALLWAY

Photo Tobias 1943

FIG. 17—STAIR-RAIL, THIRD FLOOR, EAST END, GEMEINHAUS
Photo Tobias 1943

FIG. 18—FIRST CHOIR HOUSE OF THE SINGLE BRETHREN, SOUTH FRONT (after 1848, known as the Sisters' House)
Photo by J. S. Curtis, 1943

palm of the hand. Many of the hinges are very beautiful, especially those of the double-S type. (Figs. 15 and 16) The treatment of the stairway is so simple that one suspects it to be a later substitute. In the upper attic of the extension there still stands a bit of a guard rail—the posts and handrail of oak with the "slats" of red pine, cut by a jigsaw into a delicate undulating pattern (Fig. 17)—is it not likely that all the stair-rails were like this lone surviving fragment?

The First Choir House of the Single Brethren

The first of the Choir Houses, strictly speaking, was that for the single men. Plans were considered as early as July, 1742, but the building was not ready until December 6, 1744. The unmarried men occupied it only until November, 1748, when they moved into new and larger quarters. The house was then taken over by the single sisters, and with its two later additions remained the Choir House of the Single Sisters until it, too, was changed into apartments. Consequently, except for the first four years of its history, it has been known as the "Sisters' House."

The building (Fig. 18) was more imposing than the log Gemeinhaus, or any of the other fifteen or more buildings which had arisen in the meantime. It was of stone, thirty feet deep and forty-eight across the front. The façade remains intact, there is a central doorway with two windows at either side and five above on the second floor. The roof is gambrel, with three dormers on each section. The upper portion was hipped so that the effect was still closer to the German proto-type (Fig. 19) than was the Gemeinhaus with its single-pitched roof. The windows on the steeper portion of the roof stand up tall and prim with little gables, while the squarish-faced windows of the flatter upper section have the gently sloping roofs of the Gemeinhaus dormers. The end walls—later modified by the additions—rose uninterrupted to the upper attic, with three windows on each of the three floors. (cf. Fig. 42)

Shutters at the windows were evidently in place very early, but just which of the several existing patterns was the first to

be employed, is by no means clear. The windows form a definite break with the Germanic character of the building, for instead of being of the casement type, as one would expect, they are sash—did the builder derive this form from the English colonial houses of the Philadelphia area with which he was doubtless acquainted?

As the building was devoted to working and sleeping rooms only, there was no provision for a kitchen, and consequently

FIG. 19—BUILDINGS OF THE MORAVIAN SETTLEMENT AT NEUWIED-AM-RHINE

Photo in Moravian Archives

there is no basement—merely a small cellar under a portion of the house.

In the Brethren's House appears for the first time the concave cornice with its simple and beautiful transition from the wall to the out-jutting roof. (Fig. 20) It is here, too, that we first note the red-brick arch over each door and window—a feature which adds a rhythmic and colorful relief to the otherwise austere walls. The "fill-in" above the square-headed sash and the low rise of the flat arch is also of brick. Into this little space above the front door is set a tiny window, the only light into the hall from the front of the building. (Fig. 21)

FIG. 20—DETAIL CORNICE, SISTERS' HOUSE, EASTERN EXTENSION Photo Curtis 1943

At later periods the fill-in was sometimes painted white like the sash and so disappears in the photographs. And at sometime many of the fill-ins, and even some of the brick arches, were plastered over. The earlier effect has been re-emphasized by the present method of keeping the original brick work painted a vivid red.

The brick arches must have been intended as decorative only, for the structural arch over each door and window is of the same stone as the walls, and the bricks merely set into the face of the wall where they form but a fraction of the two-foot thickness of the masonry. This may be seen distinctly in several places, even under the concealing coat of plaster the stonework is evident, as, for instance, inside the main doorway. (Fig. 21) It may be observed that the decorative brick arches are omitted over ground floor entrances where the stone arch gives a more

FIG. 21—HALL, FIRST CHOIR HOUSE OF THE SINGLE BRETHREN (Door at end of hall appears as the beveled door in Fig. 18)

Photo Tobias 1943

stable effect. Examples appear on the chapel and on the north wing of the Sisters' House. (Figs. 40 and 42)

Each of the two great chimneys not only had a fireplace opening on the broad hall which runs straight through the building, but we may suppose there was an opening in the room on either side. Practically the same scheme prevailed on the second floor, though several of the fireplaces have disappeared under plaster and paper, or have been converted into cupboards as is the case with the fireplace on the east side of the first floor hall. Most of these changes probably occurred when the work rooms were subdivided for apartments. The original windows on the north wall of what was the large work-room at the left of

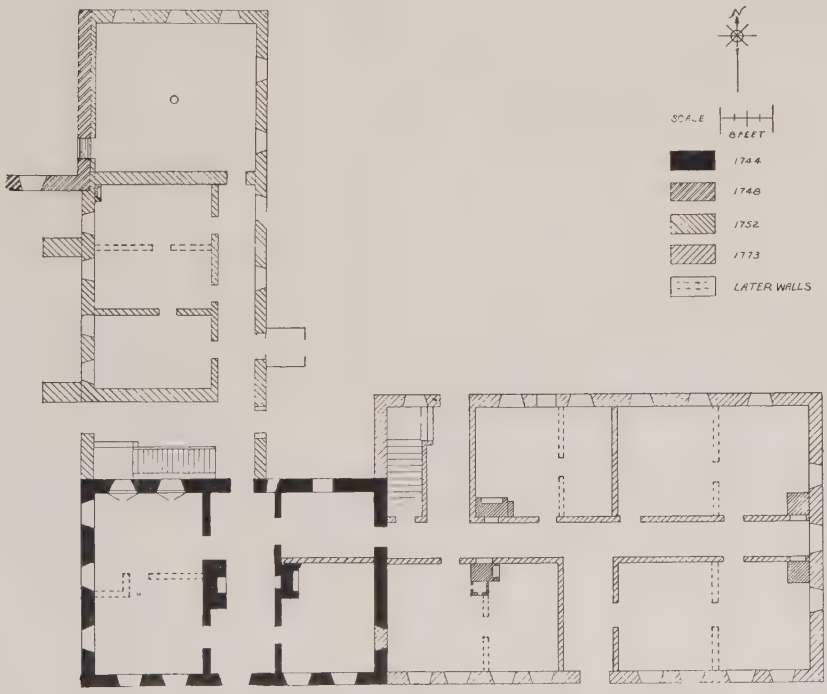

FIG. 22—PLAN, FIRST FLOOR OF THE SISTERS' HOUSE—INDICATING THE VARIOUS BUILDING PERIODS

Drawing by Theresa H. Shute from measurements taken by the author

the hall are indicated by two cupboards which fill the former openings. The room at the right was shortened at the north end to permit a passageway from the hall into the addition which was added at the east in 1773. (Fig. 22)

Originally, at the end of the hall was the stairway, it was removed most certainly when the eastern extension was added. For not only would the stairway have obstructed the entrance into the new passageway, but it was no longer necessary as the new stairs of the addition were so placed that they could serve both parts of the house. One believes that the stairway must have been in keeping with the breadth and dignity of the hall. One prefers to reconstruct it as wide as that of the Gemeinhaus and with as much architectural character as those of subsequent choir houses. The only vestige of a stairway which remains today is tucked away in the farther corner of the second floor behind a partition. Here one finds a narrow flight of stairs leading to the dormitory. (Fig. 23). This seems much too slender and inconspicuous to have been a continuation of the original stairway, and one wonders if the complete stairway was not removed and this smaller one substituted, rather than that the wider and imposing stairs below were thus narrowed for the upper flight. A convincing bit of evidence for a late date lies in the fact that the blank wall against which the stairs are built once contained a window—part of the brick arch is still intact on the exterior.

The balustrade of the stairway in the north wing (cf. Fig. 46) which was added in 1752 is similar in design with the one on this little dormitory stair—but which copied the other? If we could find the answer to that we might know whether this little stairway was built after 1773 and copied the north hall balustrade, or whether the northern one took its design from the original one in the Brethren's House.

Even though we restore a wide flight of steps, the hall, with its plain whitewashed walls, still had a cold severe atmosphere, relieved only slightly by the dark red of the floor tiles. The design of the interior doors is in surprising contrast to this severity. The long, full-length panel of each door has a little quarter circle cut from each corner and a narrow rectangular set-back at the center of each side. The iron keyplate is of sensitive and intri-

cate outline and the hinges on the inner side of the doors are of the double-S type. (Fig. 21 but compare also Fig. 24) All this suggests a vague reminiscence of the rococo on the part of their designer.

'IG. 23—STAIRWAY FROM ECOND FLOOR TO DOR-ITORY FIRST CHOIR IOUSE OF THE SINGLE BRETHREN

Photo Tobias 1943

FIG. 24 — DOORS, THIRD FLOOR, FIRST CHOIR HOUSE OF THE SINGLE BRETHREN. (Door at left is original door to dormitory from hall, one at the right was added when dormitory was partitioned into small rooms.)

Photo Tobias 1943

The Bell House

The site for the building which today we call the "Bell House"[12] had been selected by the Count von Zinzendorf even before the second half of the Gemeinhaus had been begun. Levering says that the Count was "planning the location of the different classes of buildings" which were "had in view."[13] We are not informed as to his total plan, and from discussions which arose later regarding the placing of buildings it would seem that his plan was never completely carried out; yet it is a temptation to believe that the "Bell House square" reflects the Count's thought. It must be true, at any rate, that the scheme as developed was intended from the beginning.

The site chosen for the first Brethren's House was some seventy-eight feet directly to the east of the Gemeinhaus. The next building in the group to be erected was placed midway between the existing two, and set back toward the north about seventy-two feet. (Fig. 25) This made a focal point of the little building at the farther end of a square plot, with the Gemeinhaus and the Brethren's House flanking the approach. As early as 1746, therefore, a little court-like area was formed which, within the next few years, was to be completely built up on three sides, leaving only the south approach open. And so it stands today, one of the most delightful bits of eighteenth century grouping to be found anywhere in the United States. (Fig. 26)

The feeling of solidity and old-world sobriety are relieved by the cupola such as the builders may have seen during their stay in England[14] at the very time when Chippendale was beginning

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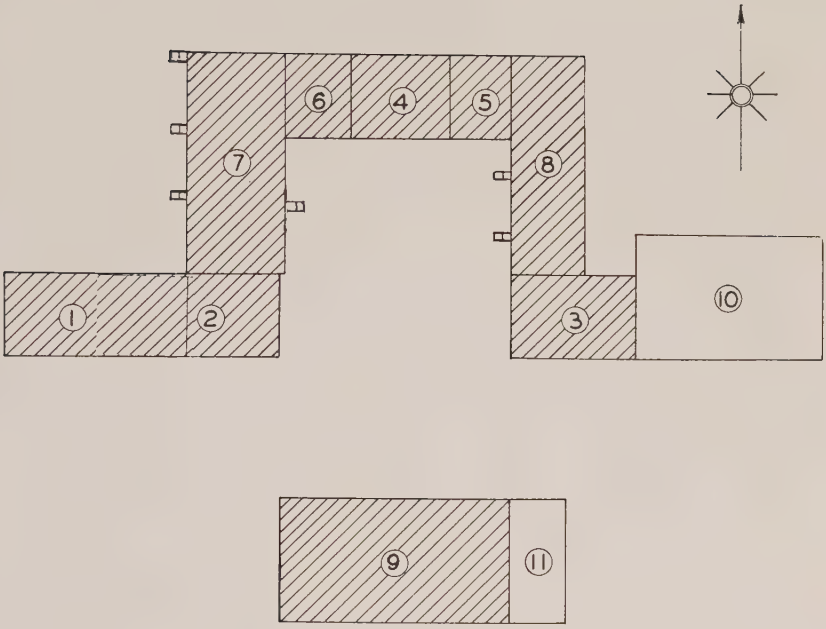
[12] The term "Bell House" was applied to the building almost from the beginning, not as a proper name, but simply as a description of its function, for in the tower above the clock were three bells—a large bell to be rung at the hour; and two smaller ones, one for the half hour and the other for the quarters.

[13] Levering: *op. cit.*, p. 144.

[14] The cupola is practically identical in design with the one over the "clock gate" at Hampton Palace, England. The Bethlehem builders may have derived their design from books of the period, a cupola of this type is illustrated in *Beschryving der Nieuwlyks Uitgevonden en Geoctrojeerde Slang-Brand-Spuiten en Haarewyze van Brand-Blussen*. Jan van der Heiden, Amsterdam 1735. This book now in the Archives was owned by an early member of the community.



1	1742	DAS GEMEIN HAUS
2	1743	
3	1744	FIRST BRETHREN'S HOUSE - LATER THE SISTERS' HOUSE
4	1746	THE BELL HOUSE
5	1748	THE BELL HOUSE EXTENSIONS
6	1749	
7	1751	CHAPEL
8	1752	NORTH WING - SISTERS' HOUSE
9	1768	WIDOWS' HOUSE
10	1773	ADDITION TO SISTERS' HOUSE
11	1794	ADDITION TO WIDOWS' HOUSE

FIG. 25—PLAN OF "BELL HOUSE SQUARE" AND ADJACENT BUILDINGS

Drawing by Quentin D. Mehrkam, 1943

Fig. 26—THE BELL HOUSE SQUARE

Photo Tobias 1943

to design Chinese motives similar to the one of the turret railing. Here is a quaint and enlightening instance of inspiration from two distinct sources combined into a new and pleasing unity. The cupola proper rises from a square box-like base at the center of the roof, surrounded by the "Chippendale railing." It is hexagonal in form, composed of six arches unadorned except for a small moulding at the point of springing. A larger, but equally simple moulding, forms the cornice for the bell-shaped dome with its graceful reverse curves. Surmounting the whole is the weather-vane, designed by the young Bishop Cammerhoff, with the historic emblem adopted by the Moravian Church—a Lamb with a banner. At the front and back of the base are two tiny windows, and between these was placed the clock.

This first portion of the building which was ready for occupancy in October 1746, was a squarish block thirty-five feet wide by twenty-seven feet deep. Levering says that "it was built originally to contain the refectory of the single men with a general dining-room connected with the Community House, and dwellings for married men and women."[15] Levering makes no mention of a kitchen and it has been implied that this was on the first floor, but as there were only two rooms on the first floor, one either side of the central hallway, it is difficult to understand how there could have been two dining-halls and a kitchen on this level. It was Moravian custom to place the kitchen below stairs and as there is a huge fireplace in the basement well equipped for cooking it is more likely that the kitchen was here and that the dininghalls were in the two rooms of the first floor. There is a fireplace in each of these rooms and one of them is sufficiently large to have been used for cooking purposes, but the room itself could hardly have served as both kitchen and refectory nor can we believe that there was one dining-hall used by both groups. Moreover, when the western extension was built another kitchen was installed in the basement there, with an oven as well as a fireplace. This new kitchen was undoubtedly to serve the dining-hall to be instituted on the ground floor of the adjoining chapel.

It was not long before the two extensions each twenty-one feet long were added, one at the eastern end in 1748, the other at the

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[15] Levering: *op. cit.*, p. 191.

west in 1749. The length of these extensions offers the additional proof that the whole square was planned from the beginning. At the east this brought the new wall in line with the west wall of what was then the Brethren's House so that when the wall of the Brethren's House was extended northward the corners of the two would meet. On the west side, however, to avoid a jog in the chapel wall, the end of the extension was continued straight forward causing it to project into the court some ten inches beyond the line of the Gemeinhaus. (Fig. 10)

The demarcation between the central portion of the building and its two additions is clearly visible in the masonry both at the front and rear. The line occurs just beyond the chimneys, about three-fourths of the distance between the older windows and the newer ones. (Fig. 26) In the upper attic the end walls continue upward to the roof except for a rough opening which has been broken through to permit passage from one section to another.[16]

The façade, though symmetrically designed, has its own variations.[17] There was but one window either side of the doorway in the original portion of the house placed somewhat closer to the door than to the farther end of the wall. This clustering of the features at the center of the façade was emphasized by a balcony which extended above the doorway to the outer end of the windows. Although Levering states that the church musicians played

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[16] When the group of buildings about the square was completed there was continuous passage through the upper attics from the Gemeinhaus, across the chapel and the Bell House with its extensions to the north wing of the Sisters' House and ending in the space over the first Brethren's House. The popular local explanation is that this provided a possible means of eluding Indians should they attack any one section. Another is that it afforded an exit in case a stairway was cut off by fire. Modern thought considers the continuous attic a hazard and fire walls and doors have been installed.

[17] The present doorway and windows above it are slightly left of the center with the west dormer very definitely out of line. But as this peculiarity does not exist on the north facade, it is perhaps due to the alterations which occurred on the south—this would not, however, account for the position of the dormer windows. One recalls that the central windows over the doorways of the Gemeinhaus were placed somewhat to one side.

in the balcony on holy days and during the celebration of the harvest and other festivals held in the square,[18] the balcony does not appear in any of the engraved views of Bethlehem. There is, however sufficient proof of its former presence on the face of the building itself and from a drawing of 1750 preserved in the Moravian Archives. (Figs. 27, 27a)

Careful scrutiny of the wall above the doorway reveals a regular series of upright stones each about two by six inches. These mark the places where timbers once projected to support the balcony. Beneath the central window of the second floor, instead of the expected stonework, is a plaster panel. (Fig. 28) This window obviously was a door which opened out onto the balcony. The argument [19] that the greater width of the window—it is four panes wide as compared to the three panes of the others—is additional proof that the space was once occupied by a door is not conclusive in this instance for any window over a centrally placed doorway was usually four panes wide to agree with the width of the door. For example, the corresponding window on the north is of the same width and form and could not possibly have been a door, as it is on the stairway, five feet or more above the landing (Fig. 29), or again, the windows immediately above and below the balcony at the east end of the Sisters' House. (Fig. 56)

The failure of the prints and drawings of Bethlehem to depict the balcony may be due to one of two reasons. In the first place it was very short-lived, being removed in 1766 just twenty years after its construction. It would therefore not be shown in any of the views after this date. While its absence in earlier prints might well be due to the smallness of the scale which necessarily tended toward simplification and the omission of details. The drawing of 1750 is unfinished, with the Bell House in outline only. Perhaps this is the reason why the balcony is shown so distinctly. But in an elaborated version based on this drawing

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[18] Levering: *op. cit.*, p. 192.

[19] G. Edwin Brumbaugh, B.S. in Arch., A.I.A., *Colonial Architecture of the Pennsylvania Germans*. Originally delivered as an address before the forty-first annual meeting of the Pennsylvania German Society at Reading, October 23, 1931. Published 1933 by the Pennsylvania German Society, Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

FIG. 27—"BETHLEHEM, 1750" Drawing in the Moravian Archives

FIG. 27A (detail of Fig. 27)—FROM THE "DRAWING OF 1750" SHOWING THE BELL HOUSE WITH A BALCONY

by Rufus Grider in 1854—nearly a century later—the balcony is omitted—had he never heard of it and so failed to understand the significance of the feature? But if Grider had never heard of a balcony or doubted that there had been one, another artist, Levin T. Reichel working at the same time, knew of its previous existence for in a drawing labelled "Bethlehem in 1755" he indicates the balcony very clearly.[20]

[20] The present location of this drawing is unknown but there is a blue print of it in an album in the Moravian Archives which contains the artist's signature. The drawing served as the basis for a very popular lithograph, "Bethlehem in 1755," published by Duval in Philadelphia about the middle of the nineteenth century. The lithograph, however, does not show the balcony. On one of the prints in the possession of Mrs. Albert G. Rau of Bethlehem, has been written: "from original drawing in the Moravian Historical Society at Nazareth by L. T. Reichel." The present curator, however, has never discovered it.

FIG. 18—CENTRAL DOORWAY, THE BELL HOUSE

Paul Parker photo 1935

FIG. 29—NORTH SIDE OF THE BELL HOUSE
From negative in Moravian Archives

The extensions to the Bell House were designed to continue the symmetry of the façade. Each had a door and a window on the first floor with the second story windows and lower range of dormers regularly placed above them. The upper dormers suddenly break this formal alignment by having one window east of the cupola and two at the west. The door of the western extension remains today but the eastern door must have been converted into a window at an early date for it too appears only in the drawing of 1750 and not in later drawings or engravings. The wall about

the window bears testimony of the former doorway. (Fig. 26) The masonry below and above the window shows the scars of an alteration, for the stonework here is not so orderly as elsewhere in the extension walls. Although the height of the doorway was reduced its width was retained so that the window is four panes wide, but here, unlike the window on the balcony there is no other justification. As the greater width, compared with the other windows, would have called for too high an arch, a flat lintel was substituted, but it too is of brick and so continues the rhythmic accent of the red arches.

The central doorway of today with its double doors and high transom cannot be earlier than 1875 for a photograph of that year shows a single door as narrow as the window above it and without a transom. (Fig. 30) Another photograph of the same time shows the western door before it was hidden by the little "Pennsylvania Dutch" porch—it is a single door with a transom. Perhaps at some still earlier date the central doorway also had a transom, for a careful study of the 1875 photograph shows fragments of a brick arch above the door at approximately the height of that at the west. This arch is no longer visible on the building as the present enlarged doorway has removed most of the evidence. (Fig. 28)

But should we not suppose the main doorway to have had a brick arch, with or without a transom, in agreement with the usual scheme, and especially as the corresponding doorway at the center of the north side (Fig. 29), which bears no signs of ever having been tampered with, has the usual relieving arch of red brick? (The north door does not have a transom because, situated as it is under the landing of the stairs, there is insufficient height.)

There is another complication, however. About the doorway today the masonry is very noticeably "patched up" and above the rebuilt stone work on each side of the door are portions of a small brick arch buried in the wall. (Fig. 28) None of these features appears in the photograph of 1875. At some time, therefore, between 1875 and the installing of the present doorway, some alteration must have been made. The two brick arches agree in size and span with those of the first floor windows and

FIG. 30—SOUTH DOORWAY OF THE BELL HOUSE, c. 1875

From negative in Moravian Archives

are at the same height. The measurements are exactly right for two windows instead of a central doorway! They would be the same width and height as the neighboring ones and all would be equally spaced. This would seem to indicate that there had been a row of four windows across the center of the house at some time after 1875. But such are the dangers of theoretical restoration! Persons interviewed who have had continuous acquaintance with the building since 1875 are certain that no such scheme was ever in force.

The building of the Bell House extensions completed the north side of the square. There were two gaps to be filled, however, before the area would bcome the "court" of the Count's plans. The opening at the west was closed by the erection of the chapel in 1751 and that at the east the following year when a north wing was added to the first Choir House of the Single Brethren —which had been transferred to the use of the Single Sisters. (Figs. 25, 26)

But before these buildings completed the enclosure of the "Bell House Square" a new house for the Single Brethren was undertaken.

The Second Choir House of the Single Brethren

At the west end of Church Street, somewhat removed from the other choir houses grouped about the Bell House square, the second Choir House for the Single Brethren was erected in 1748. This house has suffered more from alterations than have any of the others and the problems associated with its original construction are proportionately increased. (Figs. 31 and 32)

The first choir house had been turned over to the single sisters when it proved too small for the conduct of the various crafts and trades in which the rapidly growing group of single brethren was engaged. Due to the extraordinary size of the new building the quarry was unusually busy and the timbers which had been cut at the Moravian saw mill at Gnadenhuetten during the winter were floated down the Lehigh River, bound in rafts, throughout the late spring and early summer. The Choir Diary records among the many contributors to the enterprise, one John Bonn who

FIG. 31—THE SECOND CHOIR HOUSE OF THE SINGLE BRETHREN—AS REMODELED IN 1814

From negative (c. 1890) in Moravian Archives

offered to supply the shingles—there were hand-hewn, several feet in length, and cut from "straight grained blocks," but we are not told the kind of wood. The corner stone was laid on April 7, 1748, at the northwest corner of the excavated area. The term "corner stone" is used with its early significance for it was the first to be set in place, and from it the position and direction of the subsequent walls were determined. Four imported masons, with the assistance of four local helpers, pushed the stone work forward so rapidly that the frame work of the roof could be started by the first of August.[21] The site selected sloped toward the west and south, so that the storage vaults at

[21] *Chor Diarium der Ledigen Brüder* quoted by K. G. Hamilton in his "Church Street in Old Bethlehem." 1942.

FIG. 32—LITHOGRAPH BY GUSTAVE GRUNEWALD, c. 1834, "THE YOUNG LADIES' SEMINARY"—REMODELLED FROM THE SECOND CHOIR HOUSE OF THE BRETHREN IN 1814

the east end were below ground level while the kitchens at the west opened out to the light and air of the garden. Above this "ground-floor" rose three full stories in contrast to the two of the other buildings. Under the gambrel roof was the dormitory and attic. At the top of the roof, made possible by the width of the building—it measured fifty feet wide by eighty-three long—was a flat platform or belvedere. This was surrounded by a balustrade linked to the four chimneys at the corners. Here it was that the musicians played to announce the death of a member of the community.

The architectural treatment of the exterior closely resembled that of the preceding buildings in stone. The walls were free of the present encrusting stucco; the concave cornice so effectively used on the first choir house was employed, as well as the red brick arches over the windows. The upper part of the gambrel roof was hipped and there were central doorways at front and rear.

The building was greatly altered in 1814 when it ceased to be the home of the Single Brethren and was taken over by the "boarding school for young ladies." To adapt the building to its new purpose the interior was almost completely rebuilt and the exterior considerably modified.

As the north front faced the public street it underwent more serious alterations than the southern or garden side. In order to give the building a "modern" aspect the windows on all floors were increased from four feet in height to something over five. On the south side the windows on the second or main floor only were altered. In enlarging the windows the red brick arches had to be torn away. This so defaced the stone work that the whole surface of the building was concealed under a veneer of stucco. The roof—with its dormer windows, six in the lower range, grouped in pairs, and four above—was left undisturbed. Whether the two-storied porch across the south side was added at this time or later has not yet been determined.

Some years ago the stucco was removed from the south wall, but on the second floor where the windows had been enlarged, the stone work no longer presents its original character, and here, as on the north, there are no brick arches. The windows of

the first floor retain their original size but above them are stone arches, the voussoirs being small stones not much larger than bricks. But on the third floor of the south side the original brick arches are still in place (Fig. 33) having emerged from their temporary covering of stucco. They are faded and pale in color —more dull orange then red.

FIG. 33—DETAIL OF THIRD FLOOR WALL, SOUTH SIDE, SECOND CHOIR HOUSE OF THE SINGLE BRETHREN
Photo by the author, 1943

There can be no doubt that the prevailing scheme of a central doorway was employed—but there seems to be some question as to whether or not there were two doors side by side, or only one, and whether this peculiarity existed on both front and rear or only on the rear. For evidence of the centrally placed entrance we turn first to Levering. Among the plans which were submitted for the alteration, he gives the following: "To remove the stairway running up in the center of the house and, instead of this build stairways at both ends for increased convenience and greater safety in case of fire."[22] A stairway implies a hallway with an outside door, so that the removal of the stairs from the center to the ends presupposes the corresponding change in

[22] Levering: *op. cit.*, p. 600.

the location of the entrances. In the "Draft of Bethlehem—1758" which shows the position and size of most of the buildings then in existence, stoops or porches are indicated at the center of both sides of the house. If there were no reasons for believing otherwise, it would be logical to assume that the original central stairway had been approached by one door. But there are other factors which make this seem improbable.

Unfortunately there are no known drawings of the north side of the house as it was before the remodelling of 1814. But there are many views of the south side before this date, practically all of the views of early Bethlehem include it. This is true of the first drawing of Bethlehem, that of 1750 in the Moravian Archives. (Fig. 27) This is one of the most carefully executed of the drawings so that it is reasonable to believe that such an unusual feature would not have been introduced if it had not existed. The tendency in the views is always toward simplification—if there were two doors an artist might find room in his drawing for only one, while if there were but one he would not be likely to complicate his drawing by trying to squeeze in another. If two doors appeared in only one drawing it might be looked upon as an error, but when the two doors occur in print after print, it is difficult not to believe that this arrangement was correct. The two doors appear in most of the prints I have been able to examine, including Garrison's drawing of 1757, and down to Garrison's of 1784 but in this, the drawing is so indefinite that one cannot determine whether there is one wide door or two small ones. In a drawing of 1795, one door only is shown and this is true of the view of 1810 and, so far as I know, of all subsequent prints. It would seem therefore that, although the two doors on the south side did exist at the beginning, a change was made before 1795.

The persisent architectural practice of the Moravian builders was to give similar treatment to the two sides of each house, so that correctly speaking, there was not a "front" and a "back" but rather two façades. The only significant exception in any of the choir houses was the addition of a balcony to the south side of the Bell House. But even this was soon removed so that the north and south sides appear nearly identical. This duplication

of the façade may have been due in part to European influence, but was largely the result, I believe, of the isolated setting of the buildings. As they were equally conspicuous from either approach, a certain monumental character was thus achieved.

This would be especially true of the Brethren's House for the view of either side was quite unobstructed. As one approached from the north, the building was centered at the end of a long street, while the other side was a prominent feature as one entered the town from the south. This is illustrated in many of the prints. But even if there were not sufficient reason for believing that the two sides of the house were identically designed, yet the very architectural scheme itself would demand two doors on the north side as well as on the south.

A central door requires balanced fenestration so that for the upper story, or stories, there will always be an odd number of windows, due to the extra one over the door. In the Brethren's House on each of the upper floors on both the north and south sides there is an even number of windows—ten. It will be noticed further that the windows are grouped—the two in the center more widely spaced than the four toward the ends. (Figs. 31, 32) The distance between the latter windows is about four feet, the central spans being two feet wider. The same spacing occurs in the south side and as the design of the third floor is absolutely intact, we are sure of our ground. Not only are the two central windows farther apart than the others, they are also wider, being four panes in width instead of three as elsewhere. In other of the Moravian buildings, we observed that where a central window is widened it is done to agree with the width of the door beneath it. So here the greater width of the two central windows was in conformity to the width of a door in line with each of the central tiers.

The wider central spacing creates a certain architectural pause which calls attention to the center of the building. It is architecturally improbable that there should be any off-center emphasis, such as a door under one of the central tiers of windows without a balancing feature under the other. A window would not do this. A single door exactly in the center would interrupt the alignment and cause a very unpleasant tapering

effect. Either of these schemes would be in direct contradiction to all Moravian precedent, as well as in complete violation of the Germanic tradition from which the Bethlehem style had sprung.

Let us examine the building further. On the first floor of the south side, where the early prints show two central doorways, we find that the right-hand space is still occupied by a door. It is larger in both dimensions than the original one would have been, so that all trace of an arch has been eliminated. The space of the left-hand door is now filled with a window four panes wide —but as the other windows in this tier are—or were—four panes in width, this in itself is no proof that the space on this floor was once a doorway. But the surrounding masonry shows every indication of having been tampered with, so that it is evident that some change has been made.

We have noted that all north windows were increased in height when the building was altered in 1814. At that time, too, they were all made uniform in width, so that all windows in the two central tiers on the north were reduced from four panes across to three. The same reduction in width to create uniformity occurred on the second story of the south side, consequently the left-hand window is no wider than the others on this floor. The right-hand window, however, has been made into a door to give access to the upper porch. But on the third story the original arrangement of the windows may still be seen. (Fig. 33)

The problem is still further confused by the familiar passage in Levering about the "lintels." It reads: "The last weeks in May, two fine stones from the bed of Potsdam sand-stone, in the bluff across the river, were secured, to be squared for lintels over the main doorways, front and rear. They were placed in position, June 24, ornamented with inscriptions which betrayed the influence of Cammerhoff. That on the north side reads: *Vater, Mutter, Lieber Mann—Habt Ehr vom Jüngling's Plan.* The stone on the south side contained the words, *Gloria Pleura* (sic), and had a sundial in the center, while above this was a star, and beneath it the figures 1748."[23] This information Lever-

[23] Levering: *op. cit.*, pp. 198-199.

ing doubtless derived from passages in the Diaries[24] which read in translation as follows:

"Today, also, two nice big stones—a kind of marble—were set into the walls of our home. In the one over the door on the north side, the following little verse is carved: Vater und Mutter und lieber Mann habt Ehre von Jünglings Plan. And in the other, which is on the south side, there is a sundial. Over it are carved these words: Gloria Pleura. At the top is a star and way down at the bottom, the year."

Dairy of the Single Brethren's Choir
Monday, June 13/24, 1748

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[24] "Es wurden auch heute 2 schöne grosse Steine eine Art von Marmel Steiner in unserm Haus mit eingemanuert, in dem über die Thüre auf der Nord Seite steht ist folgendes Versel eingehauen worden—Vater and Mutter und lieber Mann habt Ehr von Jünglings Plan. Und in dem Andern der auf der Süd seite steht, ist ein Sonnen Zeiger gemacht darüber diese Worte Gloria Pleura eingehauen sind und noch oben drauf ein Stern und ganz unten die Jahres Zahl.

Diary of the Single Brethren's Choir
Monday, June 13/24 1748

"Weil auf der Front Seite an einem Stein eben diese Worte eingehauen stehen Vater und Mutter und lieber Mann Habt Ehre vom Jünglings Plan.

Friday, July 22/Aug. 2, 1748

"Heute wurden in unserm ledigen brüder hause an der South Seite die Sonnen Uhr mit der Uberschrift Gloria Pleurae und einem darüber stehenden gegossenen schönen Stern, und die Jahres Zahl MDCCXLVIII und an der North Seite der Marmon Stein mit der Uberschrift.

"Vater und Mutter
und
lieber Mann
habt Ehr
vom
Jünglings Plan

in die Mauer gesezt."

Bethlehem Diary
Monday, June 13/24, 1748

"Dann redete Br. Cammerhoff über die heutige Losung: Gott hats heute durch ihn gethan

Vater u. Mutter u. lieber Mann
Habt Ehr von Eurem Plan.

welche Worte in dem auf der Front Seite des Hauses stehenden Marmor eingegraben sind. . . .

Friday, July 22/Aug. 2, 1748

"Because at the front side, these words stand, carved in a stone: Vater und Mutter und lieber Mann, Habt Ehre vom Jünglings Plan."

Friday, July 22/Aug. 2, 1748

"Today there were set into the wall of our Single Brethren's House, on the south side, the sundial with the superscription Gloria Pleurae and

FIG. 34—SUN DIAL, FORMERLY ON SOUTH WALL OF THE CHOIR HOUSE OF THE BRETHREN—NOW ON ONE OF THE BUILDINGS OF THE MORAVIAN COLLEGE FOR WOMEN

above it a nice cast metal star, with the date MDCCLVIII, and on the north side a marble stone with the inscription

Vater und Mutter
und
lieber Mann

habt Ehr
vom
Jünglings Plan

Bethlehem Diary
Monday, June 13/24, 1748

"Then Bro. Cammerhoff spoke on the watchword for the day: God has accomplished it through him today

Vater u. Mutter u. lieber Mann
Habt Ehr von Eurem Plan.

which words are engraved in the marble stone on the front side of the house."

Friday, July 22/Aug. 2, 1748

Evidently it never occurred to Bishop Levering that there might have been two doors on each side, or that the stones described were not lintels. But nowhere in the passages are the stones referred to as "lintels"; they are spoken of simply as being "set into the wall." Levering's deduction was logical, as only two stones are mentioned and one of them is spoken of as being "over the door." He assumed that they were lintels, one over the southern and the other over the northern door. As lintels they should be long and horizontal in shape. But the existing stone with the sundial (Fig. 34) which we know today, and which Bishop Levering must have seen, is a rather narrow upright stone, not a horizontal one; he believed, therefore, that the sundial was "in the center," evidently imagining that the ends had been broken off or cut away. My conviction is that the stone as it exists is very nearly as it always was, that it is not a "fragment," and that the northern stone agreed with it in size and shape. For evidence I quote from Henry's *History of the Lehigh Valley*:[25] "In 1841 they [the Young Men's Missionary Society] formed a museum . . . several of these curiosities deserve particular mention: The old sundial, the old cannon, and the old spinet. The first is a solid mass of stone, several feet in length, and about half as broad. It must be more than a century old, as the date on its base has been deciphered MDCCXLVIII, but still its preservation is very complete. The figures are still legible, although the projecting angle of iron is broken off. Its

[25] M. S. Henry: *History of the Lehigh Valley*, Bixler & Co., Easton, Pa., 1860, p. 232.

original position was the former Brethren's House (now the female seminary), but was discovered some years ago as a sill to a pig-sty, from which ignoble position it was removed to its present more honorable station. It is inscribed 'Gloria Pleura', one of the devotional terms of the Brethren a hundred years ago.''

There is no evidence that the sundial was ever cut down and there is no indication on the stone itself that the ends or sides have been broken away. The only breakage is that at the upper right where a bit of the curved section is missing. Elsewhere there is a complete ''drafting edge'' except for some chipping on the right side and right lower corner. This drafting edge makes a uniform band on both sides and across the bottom. The left-hand portion of the top has a series of curves common to colonial decorative art. The lettering fits exactly into the lower section of this head piece, leaving a circular space above well suited for the location of the metal star. We cannot assume, therefore, for the sake of making it into a lintel, that there were extensions on either side to give it a horizontal effect. When Henry speaks of it as being ''several feet in length,'' he means in the longest dimension which was upright; this is clear by his words, ''and about half as broad.''

The stone which was ''set into the wall'' on the north side should agree with this in size and shape. This belief is strengthened by the Bethlehem Diary where the inscription is reproduced in a vertical panel conforming to the proportions of the sundial.

As the upright position is inappropriate for a lintel, we should think of each stone as having been inserted into the wall as a plaque. If placed above the two doors, and exactly centered between them, the required emphasis to the central space of the façade would be secured and the two doors tied together as an architectural unit. This arrangement, although retaining the horizontal panel, (Fig. 35) is indicated in an illustration in John Hill Martin's book. Martin adds the clinching evidence for two doors by giving us the testimony—obliquely, to be sure—of an eye witness. Martin engaged his brother to make the drawing of the house, evidently from a description which he had derived

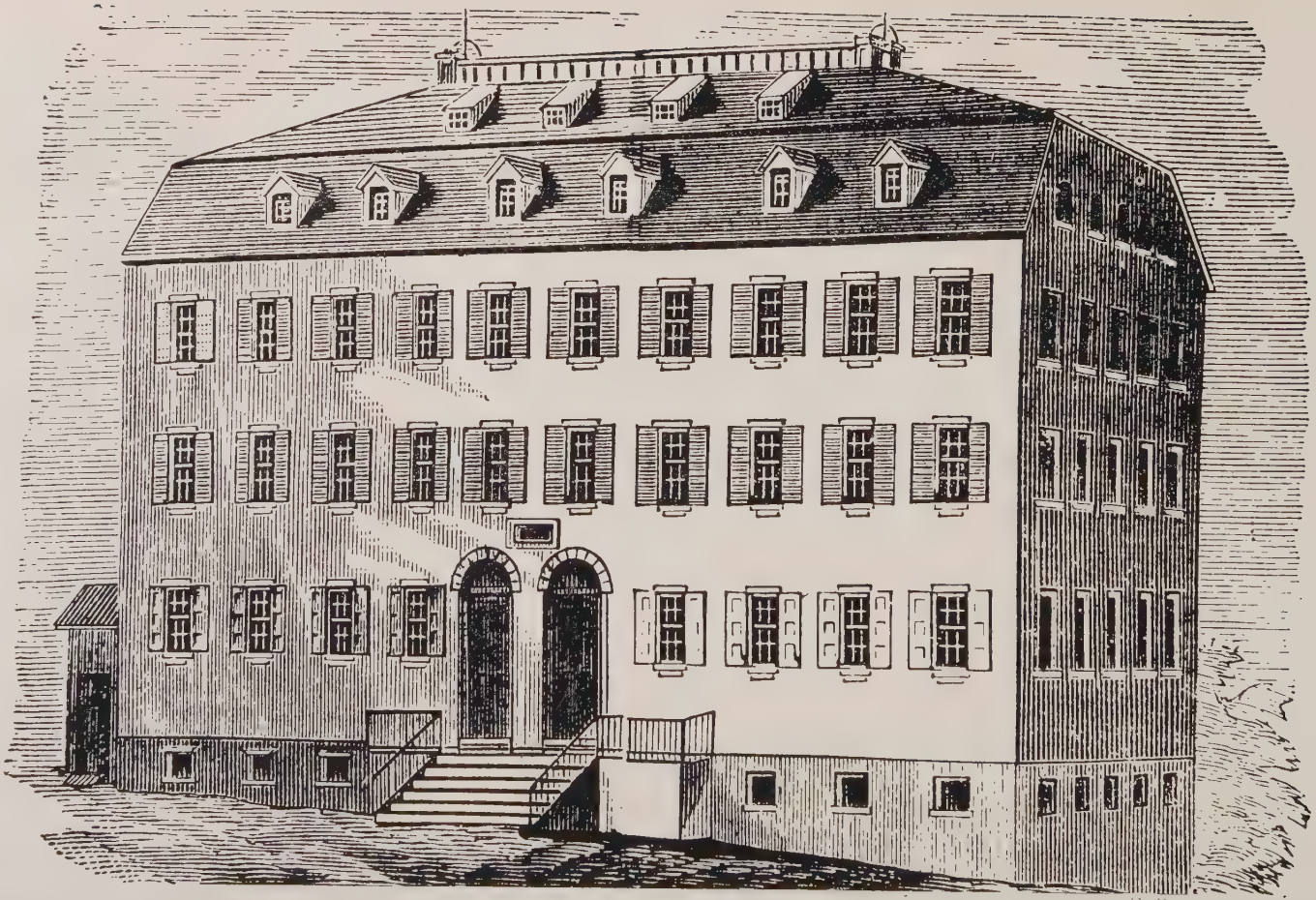

Fig. 35—RESTORATION OF THE SECOND CHOIR HOUSE OF THE BRETHREN—Drawn under the direction of John Hill Martin by his brother, William Martin. (No allowance has been made for the greater spacing between the central tiers of windows.)

From Martin's "Historical Sketch of Bethlehem"

from two men who remembered the building as it was before the remodelling of 1814. Granting that Mr. Martin was often inaccurate and jumped at conclusions, still he was often right. The pertinent passage reads:

> The illustration . . . was made from a drawing especially executed for this work, by my brother, William Martin, Jr. Originally the two entrance doors were put in the center of the building; because one half of the house, (the eastern), was intended for the "Single Brethren" and the other half, (the western), for the "Single Sisters." On the marble slab indicated over the doors, were the words:
>
> "Vater Mutter und Lieber Man
> Habt Freud an unserm Jünglings plan."
>
> The inscription was put there when the house was erected in 1784. When it was plastered over is not known. The porch was taken away, and the doors changed to their present position about 1814, so say Jedidiah Weiss and Charles Schellner, two of the oldest inhabitants of Bethlehem.[26]

Jedidiah Weiss was born in 1795 so that when the house was remodelled he was nineteen—old enough to have a clear recollection of its first appearance. Both he and Charles Schellner must have convinced John Hill Martin that there had originally been two doors. Martin's unsubstantiated explanation of the reason for the two doors, however, has blinded his readers to his more important statement that there were two.

Plans for the Brethren's House were long under discussion. Levering says that it was the fourth set of plans which were finally adopted.[27] It is curious that the one sketch for the building, which is preserved in the Archives, calls for two doors side by side in the center of the main block and for two others—also side by side—in a wing or "L." (Fig. 36) It would seem that for some reason unexplained in any known record or by the plans themselves, that two doors for the façade had been a general consideration and were incorporated into the house when built.

The House as has been noted was the largest the settlers had erected and yet the growing numbers of the Brethren and their increasing activities soon taxed the living and working quarters.

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[26] Martin: *op. cit.*, p. 157.

[27] Levering: *op. cit.*, p. 198.

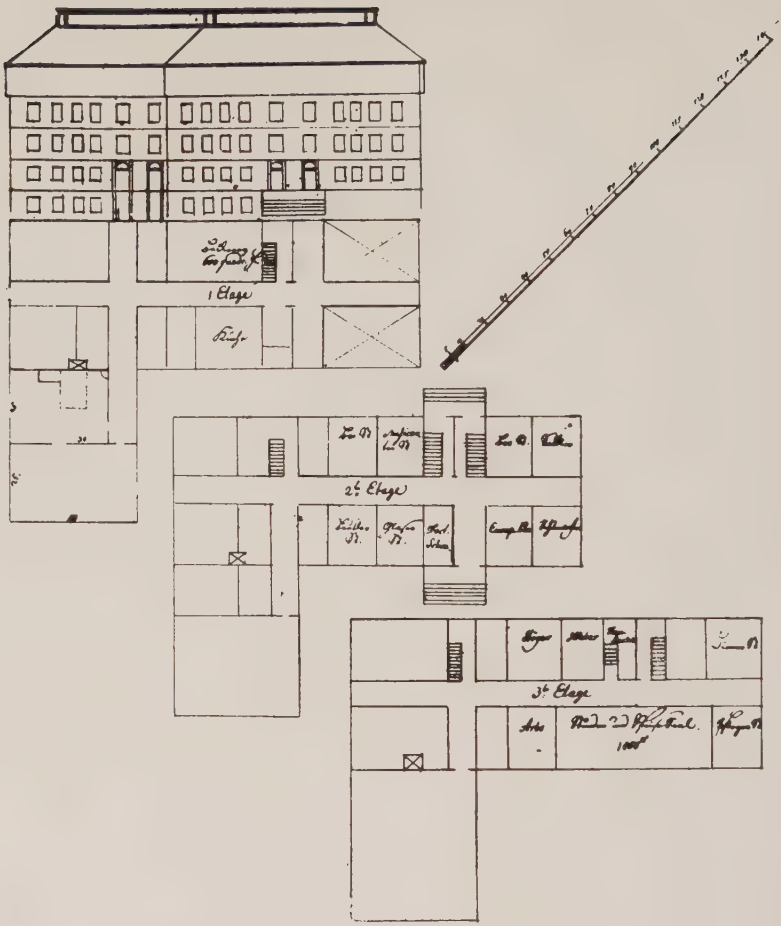

FIG. 36—SKETCH OF ONE OF THE FOUR PROJECTED PLANS FOR THE SECOND CHOIR HOUSE OF THE SINGLE BRETHREN

Drawing in the Moravian Archives

To meet the demand for space an annex was built at the east in 1762. This was demolished, presumably in 1854, to make way for the present building containing the college offices and parlors.

Six years after the first annex a second one was added, but its location is not stated. Was this the wing which appears at the west of the main structure in the drawing made around 1836

by Samuel Reinke and in the lithograph by Grunewald about 1830? (Fig. 32) A "west wing" which contained a chapel dedicated in 1817 would seem more likely to be the one in the drawings. In any event the west wing was torn down in 1857 and the present western portion of the building erected. The various views of the college and seminary buildings after this date, show several changes in the group as a whole but very little modification to the original house appears after the wholesale remodelling of 1814.

At that time the work of transformation was so complete that practically nothing remains to tell us of the interior arrangements of the house as the Brethren knew it. This is little to be wondered at when we read in Levering "there was much work for carpenters and joiners, plasterers, painters and glaziers in connection with all the details of renovation and fitting up, both inside and outside of the building." We may have an inkling of the "Bet-saal" which was traditionally placed on the second floor, but even this has been enlarged by cutting through the partition of a neighboring room. (Fig. 37) At each end of the present room is a door which would appear to be of the original building period. These doors differ in design but this may be accounted for by the fact that they were intended to be in different rooms. Each is interestingly panelled. One is made up of six small squares above two rectangular ones; the other alternates two square and two rectangular panels. The ceiling is low and the jambs of the deep set windows are panelled. Rising in one corner of the room is a part of the great kitchen chimney—this may have held a fireplace for heating the prayer-room.

The kitchen on the ground floor still shows the massive forms of the fireplace and ovens. (Fig. 38) which, although now bricked up, continued to be used long after the girls' school took over the building.

Fairly intact are the two stone vaulted storage chambers at the east end with their narrow elliptical arched openings for ventilation which cut into the barrel vaults in the manner of dormer windows. (Fig. 39) Here the original plank doors with their long narrow hinges are still in place, and one or two other

Fig. 37—FORMER CHAPEL OF THE CHOIR HOUSE OF THE SINGLE BRETHREN

Photo from Moravian College for Women

FIG. 38—KITCHEN OF THE SECOND CHOIR HOUSE OF THE SINGLE BRETHREN

Photo Tobias 1943

doors on the ground floor also retain some of their original hardware.

The dormitory, too, was spared the devastating remodelling of the main floors, the long open room was merely subdivided by thin board partitions with a long corridor the length of the building. The original timberwork, beautifully mortised and pegged, is visible in the upper attic which, with its steep little stairway leading to the roof terrace, remains today the most authentic portion of the house.

THE "OLD CHAPEL"

By the time the town numbered two hundred inhabitants, "Der Saal" in the Gemeinhaus had become too small to accommodate all the members of the congregation at any one worship service.

FIG. 39—STORAGE VAULT, EAST END OF GROUND-FLOOR, SECOND CHOIR HOUSE OF THE SINGLE BRETHREN

Photo Tobias 1943

It was felt desirable, therefore, to have a new chapel. This second place of worship, now long known as "the old chapel," was completed on July 9, 1751 and dedicated the next day which was Sunday. The ground floor of the building was intended to be used as a dining-hall for the Married People's Choir but this was not ready until the following February. (cf. plans Figs. 9, 10)

The whole impression of the interior of the chapel was very different from the room as we know it today. Not yet possessing the present north end and vestibule it was still a comparatively long, narrow hall, measuring sixty-six feet by thirty-two. Backless benches ran lengthwise in the manner to which the members had been accustomed in Germany. At the center of the western wall, which the worshippers faced, was a low platform holding the long communion table covered with its black cloth. Against the wall on either side ran a bench—that at the south for the men leaders of the church, that at the right for the women.

There were six windows on this western wall but only four on the one opposite for the northern part of the eastern wall

abutted the west end of the Bell House extension. There is no way of knowing how many windows, if any, there were in the original north wall; there was space for three, externally this would agree with the number in the north end of the Sisters' House to be erected the next year. But in keeping with Moravian custom, the end might well have been windowless. The bleakness of the room was abated sometime after 1755, when John Valentine Haidt, the little community's first painter, executed a series of religious subjects to be hung between the windows.[28] There seems to have been quite a series of these, presumably enough to encircle the room.

The men and boys occupied the southern half of the room while the benches in the northern half were for the women and girls; this was determined by the entrances. That for the male portion of the congregation was a door at the south end of the room which was entered from the hall of the second floor of the Gemeinhaus. Above this entrance was a balcony for the organ and musicians. (Figs. 11, 12)

The door used by the women and girls was located near the north end of the eastern wall, this opened into the first floor of the Bell House while above it another door from the second floor of the Bell House gave access to a balcony across the northern end of the room—this balcony is another reason for thinking there may have been no north windows. A fourth entrance into the chapel was from the dining-hall below by means of a narrow stairway near the outer east door. Although no trace of any stairway exists today this must have been in the southeast corner of the chapel where it ascended from a crosshall or "vestibule" at the south end of the dining-hall.

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[28] Martin: *op. cit.*, p. 42. Here Martin quotes from Dr. John Schopf, *Incidents of travel etc. in 1783-'84*, "We attended at their devotions in the church. This is built with the same disregard to ornamental architecture as the rest of the town. About twenty paintings representing the principal passages in our Saviour's life are hung about the walls, but that it should not appear that they were placed here with a view to ornament the building . . . . they are without frames of the simplest kind."

Although the paintings had been sold before de Schweinitz wrote in 1869, he recalls that the paintings had had black frames.

It certainly never occurred to the early worshippers that there was anything peculiar in the lack of a direct outside entrance to the chapel. They were accustomed to the idea of a chapel's being on the second floor, it was so in the Gemeinhaus and became the established place for the "Bet-saal" in each of the subsequent choir houses. But as this particular place of worship was of a more public character it came in time to be a source of embarrassment as we learn from the comments of Bishop Ettwein.[29]

The dining-hall on the ground floor could be entered by two outside doorways, one on the west and the other on the east—these were at the end near the Gemeinhaus and exactly opposite one another. (Fig. 9) The western door only is still intact (Fig. 40) the other has been converted into a window. Later another eastern doorway was made from the most northern of the windows on the east.[30] There must also have been a doorway into the dining-hall from the kitchen in the west extension of the Bell House. Although no certain evidence of this is to be found today one feels justified in believing in its existence. It would have been as readily closed up after the dining-hall ceased to be used as were the two doors from the Bell House into the chapel. If there were no communicating door the food would have had to be conveyed from the kitchen—by means of the outside "cellar-door" of the extension through the open air to the "east door" some forty feet away!

The dining-hall did not long continue in use. It was found, even during the building period, that the underlying limestone afforded insecure support and the building was therefore but-

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[29] Levering: *op. cit.*, p. 572.

[30] Kenneth G. Hamilton: *Church Street in Old Bethlehem*, an historical pamphlet published in the interest of the bi-centennial of the founding of the Moravian Congregation of Bethlehem. Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, 1942, p. 22 "On the east a door—it is still serviceable—opened from the Bell House square into the new dining-hall whence you could reach the church floor by a stairway." This implies that the outside door to the ground floor was the present more northernly one which was originally a window. It appears as a door in Grider's drawing of 1854 (Fig. 3).

FIG. 10 "THE OLD CHAPEL" FROM THE WEST, WITH NORTHERN ADDITION OF 1865
(Ground-floor doorway at south end led to the former dining-hall)

Photo by the author, 1944

tressed.[31] This was done by erecting great masonry props, three on the west side of the building and one on the east. These are simple masses of stonework rising in a single unbroken sweep from the ground to the roof line.

In 1753 the heavy tiles were removed from the roof in the hope of lessening the danger, "and some years later solid masonry walls were run across the dining-hall where formerly single pillars had stood."[32] This so cut up the space that its use as a dining-hall was abandoned.

The position of the southernmost of the walls suggests that it might well have existed from the beginning. (Fig. 10) It forms a cross hall or vestibule with an outside floor at either end as well as having an entrance from the first floor of the Gemeinhaus. From this "vestibule" one could pass through a wide opening into the dining-hall proper. Here too must have been the little stairway which was located "near the eastern door" and led to the chapel above. The second wall, however, is a continuous one and blocks completely all circulation between the two parts of the ground-floor area.

After the construction of the large church the chapel was used as a library which evidently caused some changes to be made in the internal arrangements for in 1827 it was "remodelled" to adapt it once more for use as a hall for concerts and religious services.[33]

The main changes that were to affect the appearance of the chapel, however, did not occur until after the middle of the nineteenth century. An attempt to remedy the lack of a direct entrance from the outside was made in 1865 by tearing out the

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[31] This is the explanation offered by Levering and is the one usually accepted. But there is a persistent tradition that the buttresses were added for appearance. Certainly it is the buttresses which create the medieval atmosphere of the square.

In the "Draft of Bethlehem, 1758," while the buttresses are indicated on the west side the chapel, there are none shown on the east side nor on the Sisters' House—was this an oversight? Buttresses on the Sisters' House are shown in Garrison's engraving of 1757.

[32] Hamilton: *op. cit.*, p. 24.

[33] Levering: *op. cit.*, p. 661.

northern end and erecting the present northern façade and vestibule. This addition is inconsistent in style with the older part of the building and destroys the harmony of the group as a

FIG. 41—NORTH ENTRANCE TO THE "OLD CHAPEL" ADDED IN 1865 (Steps rebuilt 1943)

Photo by the author, 1944

whole by rising abruptly and awkwardly above the uniform roofline without regard for architectural relationships. (Figs. 40, 41)

With the removal of the original north wall, the balcony against

it was removed and the two doors into the Bell House were walled up. The present organ loft over the vestibule is so much larger than the first little balcony that it can hardly be thought of "as a reflection of it." On the south side, the present apse replaces the earlier entrance for the men and boys as well as the choir loft which was above it. The stairway entrance has completely disappeared and a new doorway was cut into the Gemeinhaus in order that the northeast room there may be used as a vestry.

The quiet dignity of the chapel as it is today is due largely to the simplicity of the original plan with its beauty of proportions but is enhanced by soft color which creates a more restful impression than could have been effected by the original austerity.

The Northern Wing of the Choir House of the Single Sisters

With the building of the chapel there was left only one gap in the Bell House Square—this was between the eastern end of the Bell House and the building which had been erected for the Single Brethren, but which had been transferred to the Single Sisters' Choir in 1748. A northern wing, therefore, added to this building would complete the third side of the square and give the Sisters the extra space their growing numbers required. This was done in 1752.

This wing was adjusted to the older building in a peculiar manner. (Fig. 42) The end-wall was lengthened into a side-wall for the wing and, as the upper portion only of the gambrel roof had been hipped, it was this portion which continued on the court-side as a narrow rather flat roof for the new addition, while the dormitory, or "lower attic," now appeared as an ordinary third story. This variation from the "Moravian norm" is unpleasant, not merely because it upsets the usual scheme of a two-story wall topped by a high roof with two rows of dormers, but because it nullifies the effect of the end wall and completely distorts the gambrel roof.

The view from the east—until the later eastern addition concealed the juncture—must have been more pleasing, for the narrowness of the wing—it is only twenty-six feet wide as compared to the forty-eight of the house—set it well back from the east

FIG. 42—THE SISTERS' HOUSE—FORMERLY THE CHOIR HOUSE OF THE SINGLE BRETHREN WITH THE NORTH WING (WITH BUTTRESSES) OF 1752 AND EASTERN ADDITION OF 1773—AT FAR RIGHT

Photo by Eggert (c. 1892)

side and formed a definite "L." (Figs. 22 and 43) The transition of the roof while not free from awkwardness was on the whole better managed than on the west. Here the two-pitched gambrel was continued and turned on the north to merge with the similar roof of the Bell House. At the north corner the impression is that of a hipped gambrel, the only place where it appears on any of the Bethlehem buildings; it must have reminded the early Moravians of those they had known in Germany. However, there is one peculiar difference—the lower edges of the roof-lines do not agree, on the north each section of the roof is a foot or two shorter than on the side. This was created by the effort to meet the higher levels of the Bell House. The windows, too, are lower than those of the Bell House, but the total result is intriguing rather than annoying as it gives a touch of the unexpected to the sober orderliness of the buildings.

At some time, possibly during the process of construction, two buttresses were added on the court side. That they were not planned at first is clear from close inspection for they are not an integral part of the wall but built up against it. In 1755 as a further safe-guard the heavy tiles of the roof were removed, as they had been from the chapel. About this time, too, "the dormitory was reinforced by additional pillars and beams,"[34] but, we may suppose, not subdivided into the individual rooms of later years.

In addition to affording more dormitory space, the wing also, according to Levering, provided a "larger dining room."[35] Unfortunately for our purposes the records seldom mention the exact location of a room. But at the end of the wing is a large square room paved in brick which one feels justified in believing was the long abandoned dining room. (Fig. 22) It corresponds in location to the dining hall on the ground floor of the chapel across the court. Both could be serviced from the central kitchen in the Bell House and both were paved. Moreover, there is still a door on the west wall which once lead directly into the Bell

[34] Hamilton: *op. cit.*, p. 14.
[35] Levering: *op. cit.*, p. 256.

FIG. 43—CHOIR HOUSE OF THE SINGLE SISTERS, NORTH WING FROM THE NORTH-EAST, SHOWING ADJUSTMENT OF ROOF LINES

Photo by the author, 1944

House.[36] On the Bell House side this space has been plastered over, but the position of the door may be clearly discerned by the rougher surface of the plaster. In the center of the dining room a column of turned wood supports the central beam of the floor above. Beams were similarly employed in the chapel dining-hall.

Levering continues: "and later [there was added] the chapel of that institution." As it was customary to place the choir "Bet-

FIG. 44—DOORS TO FORMER CHAPEL OF THE SISTERS' CHOIR HOUSE

Photo Tobias 1943

[36] On the "Draft of Bethlehem, 1758" the kitchen of the Single Sisters is indicated as a separate building south of their Choir House and across the street from it.

saal'' on the second floor, and as logically the room above the large dining hall should at least equal it in size, the former chapel of the Sisters' Choir should not be difficult to locate. It is identified as the present suite of rooms used for the museum of local Moravian antiques. Actually the chapel is considerably larger than the room below, occupying the northern half of the second floor of the wing. It would seem to have been planned from the beginning which is a little difficult to reconcile with Levering's statement, that the chapel was ''later.''

As one approaches along the second floor hall, a pair of double-doors (Fig. 44) announces that beyond is no ordinary room. Within, the broad irregular floor boards extend under the thin partitions to reappear on the other side. But this is not the only indication that the walls were interposed to make an apartment of the chapel—in two of the cross walls are imbedded columns—columns which once stood free to carry a ceiling beam. (Fig. 45) These are identical with the one in the center of the dining-room below.

On the lower floor where the wing joins the older portion a wide hall paved in its original square red tiles crosses the building with a door at the west opening into the court. (Fig. 46, also cf. 22) The door, under its heavy stone arch, was repeated at the east end but later (doubtless when the eastern extension was built) a window was set within the arch, while farther down the hall which runs along the east side of the wing toward the dining-hall, another window was widened into a door to give access to the garden plot. (Fig. 43)

In this cross hall against the north wall of the original building was placed the stairway that it might be equally accessible to both the older and the newer sections. In spite of its lack of pretension the stairway has distinct architectural character, the treads broad and deep, the rises low, and the balustrade composed of plain square spindles. The heavy beam stringer exposed against the stone wall was long polished by the children of the community who loved to steal into the house to use it as a slide.[37]

It was only a few years, however, before the Sisters' Choir

[37] Reported on the authority of Mrs. Albert G. Rau.

FIG. 45—FORMER CHAPEL OF THE SISTERS' HOUSE WITH INTERPOLATED WALLS OF 19TH CENTURY

Photo Tobias 1943

was again agitating for new quarters, but not before 1772 were any changes of importance undertaken. Then an addition, completed in October of 1773, was begun on the east.

In the meantime, the Choir House of the Widows had been erected and because it evidently served as the model for the eastern addition to the Sisters' House it is fitting to consider it first.

FIG. 46—CROSS HALL, NORTH WING OF SISTERS' HOUSE
(The outside of door appears in Fig. 42)

Negative (1893) Moravian Archives

THE WIDOWS' HOUSE

If one could forget the Church Street of today with its constant stream of traffic and visualize the quiet lane as it was in 1768, then it would be quite clear that the Widows' Choir House forms the fourth side of the Bell House Square. (Fig. 25) Church Street then would seem not so much a thoroughfare as

FIG. 17.—WIDOWS' HOUSE, FROM THE BELL HOUSE STEPS, SHOWING NORTH FACADE OF FIRST BUILDING PERIOD

Photo by the author, 1944

an entrance from either side into the court.[38] Because the site selected for the choir house was exactly opposite the Bell House, the doorway of the one was in direct line with that of the other. And the length of the choir house—seventy-eight feet—equals the space between the end of the Gemeinhaus at the west and the Sisters' House on the east.

The effect of a completed quadrangle is destroyed today, not only by the intervention of a busy street, but by the addition made to the east end of the house in 1794-95, as well as that to the Sisters' House in 1773. Yet if you were to stand within the Widows' House and look out through the open door, or better still, go to the central window in the upper hall from where the street below is partly screened from view, you would be impressed by the unity of the enclosed area and feel that the brick walk which leads out from the Bell House straight toward you, is a link tying the two houses closely together. (Fig. 26)

Plans for the Widows' House were approved on January 8, 1767, the building to be seventy-eight feet long and forty-four wide. By April 27, the excavations were ready for the laying of the cornerstone. Andrew Schober and Martin Schenck were the master masons, and Tobias Hirte, the master carpenter.[39] By September 21, the rafters were raised and the roof covered with

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[38] Martin: *op. cit.*, p. 154; "Church Street formerly ended at the 'Sisters' House'; and from there a lane called the 'Sisters' Lane' extended easterly to Roth's farm, on both sides of this lane cherry trees were planted."

[39] The methods of arch construction and timber roof supports employed by these and other builders of the Moravian choir houses, are similar to the methods discussed in certain volumes on architecture in the Moravian Archives. As these books had belonged to members of the early church organization, it seems probable that they were known to the builders who if they did not actually follow them were at least familiar with the general principles therein illustrated. Among such books are:

Synopsis Architecturae Civiles Eclecticae — Johann Jacob Schübler, Nurnburg 1732

Die Architectura Civilis — M. Albert Daniel Merckleins, Frankfurt und Leipzig 1737

Heng-Oder Sprengwercken — Leonard Christoph Strums, Stockholm und Leipzig 1726

cedar shingles from Philadelphia.[40] The building was ready for occupancy in 1763.

While the Widows' House agreed in length with the Bell House, in style it more nearly resembled the original portion of the Sisters' House—the part which had been built as the first choir house for the Brethren. The façade had the same symmetrical arrangement but the greater length called for four windows either side of the central doorway. (Fig. 47) The roof, however, was not gambrel, but rose in a single upward sweep over the two attic floors. There were the same three dormers with gable roofs in the lower range, but the little shed-roofed dormers above alternated in position with those below instead of continuing the alignment. (Fig. 48)

Several of the windows on the western end are blind, even in the earliest photographs, but there can be no doubt of there having been five actual windows on both the first and second floors. For within the house one finds that the deeply recessed openings have been made into cupboards. There is a similar arched top, and the sides are cut back at the same angle as the windows.[41]

The concave cornice which was such an attractive feature of the Sisters' House, appears here, and there are the same red brick arches over every door and window. These serve as much as any other factor to relate the buildings as a definite family group.

Each floor was divided into four equal parts by the intersecting halls—the entrance hall which contained the stairway and a

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[40] John W. Jordan: *Historical Sketch of the Widows' House at Bethlehem, Pa.* Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society Volume IV, Nazareth, Pa.

[41] Photographs (cf. Fig. 48) taken presumably in the 80's show the windows with their small panes—six to a sash, the normal type throughout the Moravian group. But in a photograph of about 1890 all the windows on the first and second floors appear with the characteristic two-pane sash of the '90's. About 1915 the northernmost of the first floor windows on the west end was replaced by a larger one in the romantic style. A few years later, the balcony before the central window was added. Such violations of the spirit of the early architecture fortunately have been very rare. Repairs to the eaves have in several places concealed the effect of the concave cornice.

FIG. 48—THE WIDOWS' CHOIR HOUSE (Eastern extension indicated by two closed shutters at left with isolated dormer above them. Annex of 1889 at right rear. Gable in immediate foreground is of the Gemeinhaus.)

Negative (c. 1890) Moravian Archives

lateral one which crossed it at the center of the building. Each quarter today is divided into suites of two or three rooms. It has been customary to think that this was the plan from the beginning, but the architectural evidence is for one room in each quarter. (Fig. 49)

There are four great chimneys, one in each quarter, placed next the lateral hall midway between the entrance and the end of the house. At present only one room in any quarter has a fireplace or sufficient chimney space for one, consequently this one room alone could have been thus heated. While dormitories were without heat, living and workrooms would have had to be heated or remain unusable much of the year. All the choir houses had a common sleeping room on the third floor—the lower rooms being devoted exclusively to day-time purposes. If in imagination we remove the partitions which are thin and hollow-sounding as compared with the solid and thicker ones of the hall walls, we should have four rooms on each floor, practically identical in scheme. There would be four windows on the long outer wall with two at the end. The opposite end wall would be blank and against the center of the fourth wall would be the large fireplace projecting well into the room with a door on either side leading into the lateral hall.[42]

This we shall later observe was the arrangement (with slight

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[42] The working plans used by Schober and Schenk were probably "worn out" during the process of building, nothing is known of them. But since I wrote this section, Dr. Schwarze uncovered in the Archives a set of earlier, unused plans (Fig. 49a). These are extremely enlightening both for their similarities to the existing building and for their differences. These earlier plans call for a stone wall of three full stories; instead of the two as built, but the arrangement of the rooms is on the whole very close, except that here are three large rooms any one of which could have served as the choir chapel. One on the second floor marked "Saal" in the plan would seem to be the one intended.

My view, however, that there were only four main rooms to each of the main floors is here belied for in these plans each of the four quarters on the first floor contains two rooms. They are, however, without fireplaces and the small chimneys indicate that the rooms were intended to be heated by stoves. For reasons either of economy or expediency the earlier method of heating by fireplaces was retained, this may have been one reason why these particular plans were not followed.

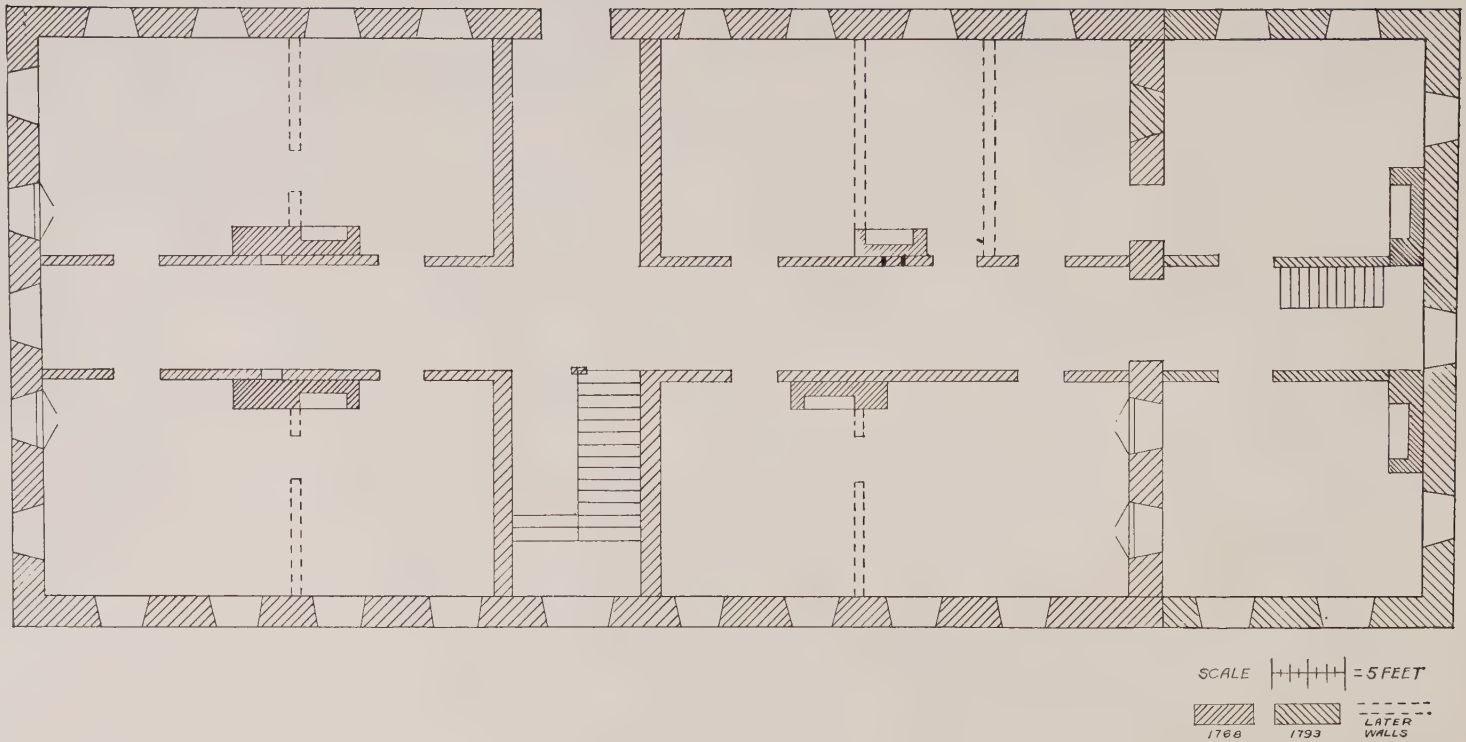

FIG. 49—PLAN, FIRST FLOOR, WIDOWS' CHOIR HOUSE

Drawing by Theresa H. Shute from measurements taken by the author

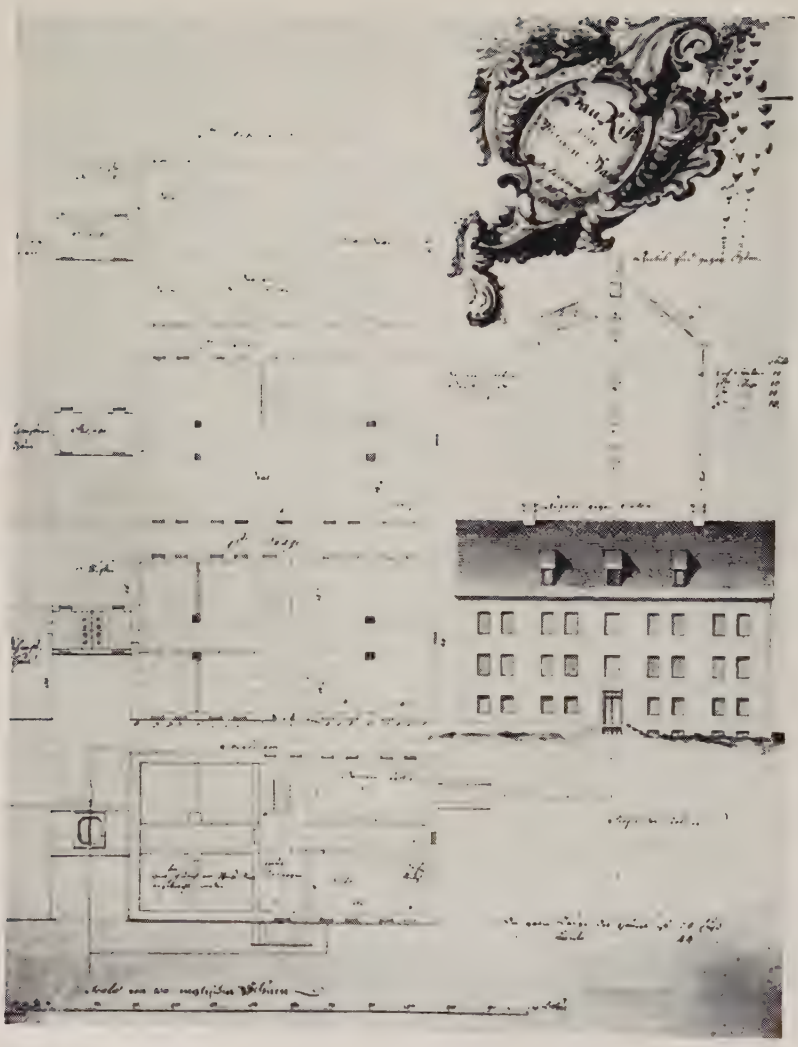

FIG. 49a—PLAN FOR THE WIDOWS' HOUSE, CONSIDERED BUT NOT FOLLOWED

Drawing in Moravian Archives

modification) in the Sisters' House extension—and as that building followed the general scheme of the Widows' House, it is reasonable to believe that the plan of a few large rooms, instead

of twice as many smaller ones, was also copied from this earlier building.

Since the house was first constructed there have been many changes in the heating system. In the beginning the fireplaces furnished the chief means of warmth. Even when the addition was made at the east as late as 1794, no provision was made for stoves but each room had a fireplace especially constructed for its benefit. But this may have been modified very early for in 1781 a visitor to Bethlehem, one Lieutenant Anburey, a British prisoner of war, writes of his surprise on visiting the Sisters' House to see "the large chambers, which are, after the German

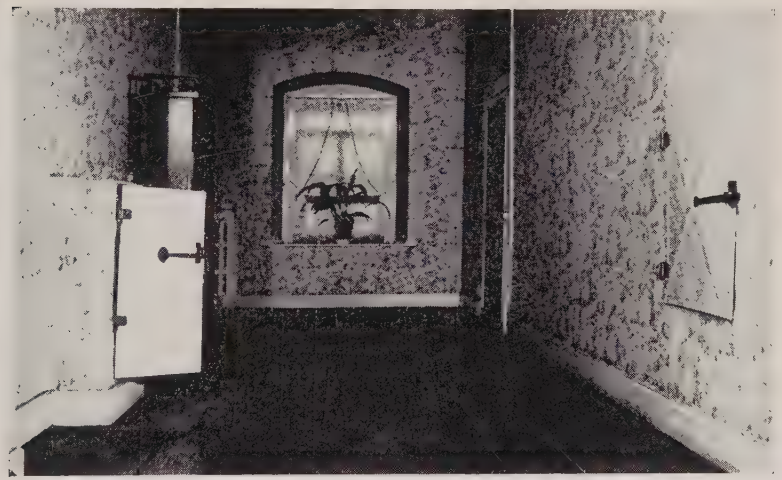

FIG. 50—WEST END OF FIRST FLOOR HALL, WIDOWS' HOUSE, SHOWING TWO OF THE OPENINGS IN THE CHIMNEYS

Photo Tobias 1944

mode, heated with stoves."[43] It is quite probable that similar heating arrangements were made in the Widows' House. Another visitor, the Rev. John C. Ogden, in 1799 describes the types of tile stoves he saw in the various buildings in Bethlehem.[44]

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[43] Thomas Anburey: *Travels through the Interior Parts of America* (1777-1781), Riverside Press, Cambridge, 1923, Vol. II, p. 297.

[44] John C. Ogden, *An Excursion into Bethlehem and Nazareth in the year 1799*. Philadelphia, 1800.

In the lateral hall, back of each chimney is another opening like a diminutive fireplace. (Fig. 50) The accepted view has been that this was a means of heating the hall. But the openings are too small to permit much of a fire and as each pair of openings is exactly opposite one another, the heated area would have been very limited. It is clear that the opening was not a fireplace but a device for feeding either the fireplace or a tile stove. The house, one should remember, was built especially for the widows of Moravian ministers and missionaries, hardy folk to be sure, if one may judge from the accounts of their activities in Bethlehem history, yet most of them were aging women. It would have been considerate to have the fires cared for by a man and such a division of labor was in accord with the policy of the "Economy." If the fires were to be thoroughly effective, they would have required constant attention—why should the women interrupt their carding, weaving, or other work by stopping to replenish a fire? On the other hand, the very separation of the membership into choirs was to prevent the free mingling of the sexes. Yet a man could have attended to the fires on both floors efficiently and without disturbing the women if he could feed the fireplaces from the halls. Such an arrangement was not unknown in Germany. A plate stove in the Sisters' House at the "Ephrata Cloisters" was constructed to be filled with wood from the outside. And the "Oley School" in Berks County had a somewhat similar scheme for heating the classrooms through an opening in the back of two centrally located "fireplaces" in the common hall.[45]

In the light of this knowledge, if we revisit the Gemeinhaus we can understand the little "fireplace opening" in the chimney on the eastern stairway. After the first winter this opening was probably the feeder for the chapel stove. It could be reached conveniently from the stairway and its use would not interfere with the service. The opening is somewhat larger than those in the Widows' House but it could not possibly have been a means of heating the hall, its very location prohibits such a use.

There is one difficulty which is not explained whether one

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[45] These latter were brought to my attention by Dr. W. N. Schwarze.

accepts the idea of four large rooms or eight smaller ones.[46] Some of the fireplaces are centrally placed in chimneys of moderate width, in these the opening in the hall could have entered the back of the fireplace in the room. (In one fireplace on the second floor it still does, never having been sealed over.) But in others the fireplace is at one side of a longer chimney and in these the hall opening is located against the blank portion of the chimney. In these instances it could have been a means of feeding a tile stove placed against the chimney but could hardly have afforded access to the fireplace—unless the original fireplaces were large ones which were reduced to half their width when the chimney was bisected by the partition wall. If there were only four rooms then at least three of the rooms could have been heated by either or both of the means suggested but if there were eight rooms then four of them had fireplaces and four had tile stoves—either situation strikes one as distinctly peculiar.

The chimneys appear today to be perfectly solid but if we could dig through the plaster, would we find that there had been connections for the stoves or that some of the fireplaces had been cut in two? The heating problem is complicated still further by stove-pipe openings which appear in most of the chimneys—these could have been made at almost any time up to the installation of a central heating system.[47]

On the second floor the plan is similar but not identical. The partitions which divide the four quarters into eight rooms are placed directly over those below which might or might not be an argument for their dating from the beginning of the house.

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[46] The further subdivision of one of the smaller rooms is so obviously late that there can be no question in regard to it.

[47] Mrs. Barry Jones reports that "one of the old ladies told her" that after the days of the "Economy" when the widows no longer ate in common but each had her own little suite of rooms that small cook stoves were set up in the halls so that the women need not descend to the common kitchen. It might have been possible for stove-pipes to be inserted into the chimney flue through the hall openings.

Mrs. F. F. Couch also informs me that some years ago the tenants of the Sisters' House, she understands, used the "hall fireplaces" for heating water. Even if they were so used, were they built for that purpose—remembering that the rooms were then work-rooms and not used for housekeeping?

Only one or two fireplace openings still exist, and they merely as cupboards. In the hall are the small openings into the back of the chimneys except for the southeastern one where the chimney is smaller than the others, but the northeastern one has two hall openings one of which still communicates directly into the present fireplace.

By the time the chimneys emerge into the dormitory three of them have become uniform in size, measuring somewhat under four feet square—the one in the southeast is an exception being only two and a half feet wide.

In the upper attic each pair is corbelled toward one another and as they near the roof are met by an arch. (Fig. 51) This arch carries a wall which rises above the roof joining the chimneys yet holding them apart. (Fig. 48)

Other than the possible subdividing of the rooms the interior of the house has not been much modified. If the walls today were not so cheerfully papered, the severity of the original halls would be more strongly felt for the only alleviating architectural feature is the stairway which rises at the center of the house. The impression of its being recessed is created in part by the position—it starts just beyond the point of intersection of the halls and, in part, by the simple, but architectural, frame. The balustrade is unusually interesting—it is a version of the jigsawn slats, consisting of panels pierced by slender rectangular openings with a litle semicircle cut out at top and bottom. The panels fitted together form a continuous screen framed in by solid oak posts and hand rail, still intact from basement to lower attic except for the lower newel. The posts are square with rounded edges, paralleled by a groove at each side. The handrail is functionally rounded and deeply undercut to fit the curve of the hand. The upper attic is reached by a flight of steps as steep as the galley stairs on a ship. Even here the same careful workmanship is evident. The solid oak stringers have the same perfectly grooved line along each side of the rounded corners and the treads are rabbetted into the stringers with such obvious feeling for craftsmanship that one is repaid for having climbed all the stairs.

The original flooring, thick wide boards of red pine, is in place

FIG. 51—UPPER ATTIC, WIDOWS' HOUSE, CORBELLED CHIMNEYS AND CONNECTING ARCH

Photo by Tobias, 1943

throughout most of the house. The doors which are extremely plain retain their long, pointed hinges and many still use their huge locks with the oddly curved handle terminating in a hollow ball that fits comfortably into the hand. (Fig. 52)

FIG. 52 — TYPICAL DOOR, WIDOWS' HOUSE, WITH ORIGINAL HINGES AND LOCK

Photo Tobias 1943

Neither upper nor lower attic was ever finished in the sense that the rafters were covered or the timbers enclosed, but the very beauty of the mortised and pegged construction is excuse enough for its remaining visible. (Fig. 53) Because the lower attic was left unceiled it has been argued that the room could

FIG. 53—PEGGED AND MORTISED CONSTRUCTION, WIDOWS' HOUSE DORMITORY

Photo Tobias 1943

not have been used as a dormitory. There is, however, sustaining evidence. When the house was dedicated on October 12, 1768, the Bethlehem Diary in recording the event includes the statement: "At two o'clock in the afternoon the love feast was held in the dormitory (Schlaf-Saal). The service began by the trombones playing the following verse from the little tower—

'God bless your arrival
And your entrance as well.'

"The Brethren and Sisters of the helpers conference had been invited. . . . after the guests had left the whole choir proceeded to the meeting room (Versammlungs Saal) for its consecration."

The term "Schlaf-Saal" is used in the records in referring to the general sleeping room only and never in regard to individual rooms. Later in the day the Schlaf-Saal too was dedicated.

The mention of the "Versammlungs Saal" (a term which the Moravians used interchangeably with "Bet-Saal" for a choir house chapel) is interesting, too, for the house as first built had no room especially adapted for this purpose, evidently one of the room on the second floor was simply set aside for the meeting place.[48]

If it had been chiefly to provide a suitable room for the choir chapel that the east end of the house was carried forward twenty feet, one would think that the total space would have been utilized, but there are two architectural features which cause one to question this. About the middle of the nineteenth century the need for a special meeting room was no

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[48] The quotation is from the *Bethlehem Diary* translated by Dr. K. G. Hamilton. There is another tradition which if correct is another proof of a chapel in this older part of the house. It is repeated by Jordan, *op. cit.*, "A memorable day in the history of the Widows' House was the visit of General Washington on the afternoon of July 25, 1782, while *enroute* to Newburg, New York. He called with Brother Ettwein, was introduced to Sister Werwing, the deaconess, *inspected the chapel* and was served with cake and wine, and on May of 1791 his friend, Alexander Hamilton, was also an interested visitor."

longer felt.[49] The long hall which had terminated at the chapel door was then continued through to the east end of the building. On the north side of the hall the new wall is the usual thin one of a superimposed partition, but on the south side the wall is thicker and seems to be of stone. This suggests that it was erected at the time the addition was made and that the southern end of the extended portion was a separate room. Furthermore, one of the two new chimneys provides a fireplace for this room. It would appear, therefore, that only the northern two-thirds of the addition was occupied by the chapel. If this is so the room would not have been much larger than the one previously used, but it may have been better adapted to meeting purposes.

But if the widows' choir was happy over having a more suitable meeting place, architecturally the symmetry of the façade was destroyed and the two chimneys at the very end of the building throw the whole design off balance.

Externally the masonry gives the impression of having been hurriedly done in contrast to the careful stone-work of Schober and Schenk on the original portion—and this in spite of the relatively long building period, for although begun in May of 1794 the twenty-foot addition was not completed until April of the following year. Compare this with the four months required for building the Brethren's House.[50]

Perhaps there were other reasons for building the addition besides the desire for a chapel. On the ground floor are two large, well constructed, brick-paved rooms. That on the north con-

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[49] The "choir" gradually ceased to function in its earlier manner but the building continued to be occupied chiefly by widows of Moravian Ministers and in 1871 was endowed as a home for widows and daughters of Moravian ministers and others. To provide more space for this increasing group an "annex" was built in 1889 on the garden side. This was in the contemporary mode without pretence being made of adapting it to the older style. Luckily the annex is not very conspicuous from the street. Little of the old building was destroyed in attaching it as it was set back twenty feet from the south wall and joined to it only by an eleven-foot corridor, this has a "gallery" or double deck porch on each side. If a restoration was ever undertaken, it would not be necessary to restore much of the original south wall.

[50] The fenestration on the eastern end has been altered by the addition of several windows larger in scale than the original ones.

tains a brick oven more advanced than any previously used. The south room which opened out on the garden was the laundry—a pleasant, well-lighted room. The fireplace in the center of the east wall has an opening tall enough to hold a huge kettle. On each side small kettles were built into place above a brick firebox with a little flue leading into the large chimney. The one at the right is still in place. (Fig. 54)

There was no connection between this section of the ground floor and that under the western half of the original portion of the house, for the intervening space had never been excavated. The western section now contains a series of small rooms made from the original kitchen or kitchens to provide living quarters for a janitor's family when the building was changed into apartments. The south chimney has one small fireplace and in the hall is an opening which may have been an oven in the north chimney—but these impress one as being very inadequate especially when we read that after 1784 the Widows' Choir provided meals for the girls of the seminary.[51]

The least disturbed of these ground floor rooms today is a good-sized one under the front of the house. Here an arch of twelve-foot span is substituted for one of the main supporting walls. (Fig. 55) A solid wall would have interfered with the desired size of the room—it may have been the earlier laundry, here too the bricks of the pavement form a drain across the floor and make an exit under the outer wall. Evidently master-masons Schober and Schenk had faith in arches.

The Eastern Addition to the Sisters' House

Four years after the consecration of the Widows' Choir House the final portion of the Sisters' Choir House was begun. This adjoins the original building of the sisters' choir on the east but is not so much an arm or wing as an entirely new building. (Fig. 22) It conforms to the earlier building in general style but as there is a full basement the levels are higher. The concave

[51] K. G. Hamilton, *op. cit.*, p. 17. Perhaps, however, the widows' choir did not do the cooking and baking on their own premises but used the more ample facilitaties of the kitchens in the Bell House which the Seminary was at that time occupying.

FIG. 34 LAUNDRY, EASTERN ADDITION OF WIDOWS' HOUSE Photo Tobias 1943

FIG. 55—GROUND FLOOR ROOM UNDER ENTRANCE HALL, WIDOWS' HOUSE

Photo Tobias 1943

cornice is two feet above that of the other building and the high sweep of the single-pitched roof rises above that of its neighbor. The greater height permits small basement windows on the street front and the first floor is marked by a simple water-table—the only one occurring on any house of the group. (Fig. 56)

In scale and elevation, however, there is so much similarity to the Widows' House that one wonders if the plans for that house were not adapted for use in this building. It is shorter by six feet but wider by two. There is the same type roof with alternating dormers but, in spite of slightly less space, one more window in each range.

Across the end, however, on the main floors are three windows instead of five and at the center of the second story, a balcony. The railing is composed of characteristic jig-sawn slats such as we may suppose were employed on the balcony at the Bell House. Here too the balcony is reached by a door from the second floor hall. The windows directly above and below are four panes wide as contrasted with the three-paned width of those on either side, just as in the Bell House elevations. The top-most window,

Fig. 56—SISTERS' CHOIR HOUSE FROM THE EAST (Gemeinhaus at left with church tower in background)

Negative (c. 1900) Moravian Archives

in the upper attic, is a small square one directly beneath the broad chimney which rises above the peak of the gable.

This apparent disregard for architectural realities is explained by a visit to the attic where one discovers that the two chimneys which rise between the windows converge in the attic into a great inverted V. The same device occurs at the west as well but there the chimneys are not at the end of the building but set in about fifteen feet. This peculiarity in the position of the

FIG. 57—SINGLE SISTERS' CHOIR HOUSE, PORTION OF THE NORTH SIDE OF THE EASTERN EXTENSION, SHOWING THE EXTRA WINDOW INSERTED AFTER THE LARGE ROOMS WERE DIVIDED INTO APARTMENTS

Photo by the author, 1944

chimneys is in part explained by the exigencies of the situation. While there were four large workrooms on each floor as in the Widows' House, the entrance hall does not continue straight through the center of the house, but is interrupted at the intersection with the lateral corridor. (Fig. 22) Another hallway at the west end of the building, with an outside door on the north, (Fig. 57) contains the stairway which is placed against the end

of the original house that it may serve, as does the one in the north wing, both the older and the newer portions. As a result of this variation the northwest room is not at the corner of the building but is moved over, as it were, toward the center, where it adjoins the corresponding room on the east by including the space where normally one would find the central hall and stairway. It seems reasonable to suppose that the stairs in the original part of the house were removed at this time for the space where they were provides the only communication between the two parts of the house.

Few of these rooms show any indication of ever having had a fireplace. But as each had a chimney with an opening into it from the hall similar to the ones in the Widows' House, (Fig.

FIG. 58—OPENING FROM HALL INTO CHIMNEY, FIRST FLOOR, EASTERN EXTENSION OF SISTERS' HOUSE. (In this instance the opening was directly into a "fireplace" in the room, now backed by the tin sheet shown in the opening. Note that the door, which bears original hardware, is of wood.)

Photo by Tobias. 1944

58) we may suppose that the heating system from the beginning had been for the most part by means of tile stoves. And for much the same reasons as we noted in the other house, these too

could be refueled from the hall.[52]

If the western chimneys had been placed at the end of the building as they are on the east, the passageway from the old part to the new stairway would be blocked and the northwest room unprovided with a chimney flue. By shifting the position of the northern chimney fifteen feet toward the center of the building these difficulties were avoided. The companion chimney was also set in that the two might unite in the attic to rise above the roof as one. This places the chimney of the southeast room on each floor in a relatively normal position at the center of the long wall whereas the chimneys in the other rooms are in a corner, a position which would seem not to be so satisfactory for heating such long rooms even with the tile stoves.[53] The previous mention of tile stoves is from a description of the Sisters' House written by Lieutenant Anburey in 1781.[54] I quote the more complete passage for the light it sheds upon our present problems.

> . . . . [Bishop Ettwein] . . . shewed us everything worthy of observation on the settlement. The first place he conducted us to was the house of the single women, which is a spacious stone building, divided into large chambers, which are, after the German mode, heated with stoves. In these the young women pursue various domestic employment, and some are employed in fancy and ornamental work; in all these apartments are

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[52] In the Archives Dr. Schwarze also discovered plans for the eastern extension to the Sisters' House. In this instance my views were substantiated for the main floors were divided into large rooms only and the intervening partitions of today are not indicated, proving conclusively that they are later innovations. Curiously, however, although the position of the tile stove in each room is indicated, in most cases it is not in direct contact with a chimney. If the plans were followed in this respect, then the stove could not have been fueled from the openings in the hall. In one or two of the rooms a small fire-place does exist, but still this does not explain the openings into the chimneys from the hall, for all chimneys have such an opening whether there is a fire-place in the room or not.

[53] The Sisters' House is still heated by separate stoves in the various apartments—but none of the tile ones can be found. There is a tile stove in the Museum at Nazareth but its provenience is unknown. (cf. H. C. Mercer, *The Bible in Iron*, Doylestown, Pa., 1941, p. 127.)

[54] Anburey: *op. cit.*, p. 297.

> various musical instruments. The superintendent of these young women conducted us to the apartment where they slept, which is a large vaulted room, the whole dimension of the buildings, in which were beds for every woman. The women dine in a large hall in which is a handsome organ, and the walls are adorned with Scriptural pieces, painted by some of the women who formerly belonged to the society. This hall answers the purpose of the refectory and chapel, but on Sundays they attend worship in the great church, which is a neat and simple building.

Lieutenant Anburey must be referring either to the refectory or the chapel in the north wing—but which room does he mean? Had he troubled to tell us whether the floor was brick or red pine we should know if the dining room was at the time of his visit used as a chapel or whether the room we know to have been the chapel was in 1781 also used as a refectory. The latter seems less likely because it was two flights above the kitchen. So perhaps Levering was right when he says that "later the chapel" was included. It may be that the large room was created to accommodate the increased membership in the choir after the eastern addition was erected.

Another visitor to Bethlehem, the Marquis de Chastellux, also wrote of the Sisters' House.[55] His description indicates that if the chapel were not installed at the time of Anburey's visit in 1781 it was in use when he visited the house in 1782.

> The superintendent . . . . conducted us to the first (sic) floor, where she made us enter a large vaulted room, kept perfectly clean, in which all the women sleep, each having a bed apart, in which are plenty of feathers. There is never any fire in this room and though it be very high and airy, a ventilator is fixed in the roof like those in our play houses. The kitchen is not large, but it is clean, and well arranged; in it there are immense earthen pots, upon furnaces, like in our hospitals.
>
> The inhabitants of the house dine in the refectory . . . This house also has a chapel, which serves only for evening prayer, for they go to their church on Sundays. There is an organ in this chapel, and I saw several instruments suspended on nails . . . Here also are several religious pictures.

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[55] Marquis de Chastellux's *Travels in North America in the years 1780-81-82.* New York 1827, pp. 350-51.

FIG. 59—STAIRWAY, DORMITORY FLOOR, EASTERN EXTENSION SISTERS' HOUSE

Photo Tobias 1943

Fig. 60—DORMITORY, EASTERN EXTENSION, SISTERS' HOUSE

From Negative in the Moravian Archives

The "large chambers" which impressed Anburey were divided by partitions when the house was adapted for apartments—otherwise few changes have occurred. The halls have kept much of their early appearance. The deep-red of the tiled floors, the heavy arches about the doors, the white-washed walls without architectural relief—retain the severity which must have been present at the beginning. The stairway—still preserved throughout its entire length—alone breaks the monotony. The design of the balustrade in the Widows' House is here repeated with its simply carved uprights and handrail and the effective pierced panelling. (Fig. 59)

One is not surprised that both visitors to the sisters' house were impressed by the "Schlaf-zimmer" which remains essentially as it was when inspected by Anburey and Chastellux. The impression one receives is certainly that of a long barrel-vaulted chamber (Fig. 60) with the dormers cutting into the sweep of the curve with sharper elliptical openings. Wood and plaster have created the effect, the main portion of the ceiling is perfectly flat for it is actually the under surface of the attic floor above. In the center of the ceiling is the round opening of the ventilator into this attic space. The opening has a jig-sawn grill designed like a little wheel window which should have delighted the eyes of the sisters as they lay on their cots in the cold white room and glanced upward at this one bit of decoration.[56]

The Moravian builders must have felt that mere strength and permanence were not enough but that in living amid such stern surroundings they ought to find some things to their comfort or delight. Their very attempt to adapt a handrail to the form of thumb and fingers or to mold a latch to the grasp of a hand resulted in objects of beauty in accord with the best Socratic interpretation. Such details as these reveal functionalism at its simplest and purest. Having attained the solid satisfactions the builders paused to secure an element of inherent beauty, the "beauty of materials," achieved by the straightforward use of the elements at hand.

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[56] Ogden: *op. cit.*, explains the use of the ventilator. . . . . "We were permitted to see the dormitory . . . . a large, lofty, airy room, with a lamp suspended in the centre, which burns during the night; over it is a ventilator in the wall, which causes the circulation of fresh air. . . . ."

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